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ABSTRACT

The papers in this volume fall into five categories. After "Introduction: Making the Invisible Visible" (Claire Kramsch), Part 1, "Theoretical Boundaries," includes "The Metamorphosis of the Foreign Language Director, or: Waking Up to Theory" (Mark Webber) and "Subjects-in-Process: Revisioning TA Development through Psychoanalytic, Feminist, and Postcolonial Theory" (Linda M. von Hoene). Part 2, "Educational Boundaries," includes "Redefining the Boundaries of Language Use: The Foreign Language Classroom as a Multilingual Speech Community" (Carl Blyth), "Poetics to Pedagogy: The Imagistic Power of Language" (Hung-nin Samuel Cheung); and "A Framework for Investigating the Effectiveness of Study Abroad Programs" (Thom Huebner). Part 4, "Cultural Boundaries," includes "Using Ethnography to Bridge the Gap between Study Abroad and the On-Campus Language and Culture Curriculum" (Richard Jurasek) and "Searching for Averroes: Reflections on Why It is Desirable and Impossible to Teach Culture in Foreign Language Courses" (Nicolas Shumway). Part 5, "Language Learning Environments and Their Boundaries," includes "The Electronic Language Learning Environment" (James S. Noblitt) and "The Foreign Language Problem: The Governance of Foreign Language Teaching and Learning" (Peter C. Petrakis). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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AAUSC
Issues in Language Program Direction
A Series of Annual Volumes

Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study

Claire Kramsch
Editor

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Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study

Claire Kramsch

American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC)

Issues in Language Program Direction
A Series of Annual Volumes

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Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study

Claire Kramsch
Editor

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Claire Kramsch
Editor

Introduction: Making the Invisible Visible

Claire Kramsch
University of California at Berkeley

Once in a while, books on language study need to be written that do not tell how to be a more effective language teacher, nor how to become a more efficient language program director—or, at least, not directly. What is needed instead are books that make the invisible visible, that describe familiar practices in unfamiliar ways, that bring to light unsuspected links between seemingly unrelated fields, that offer new ways of looking at what we are in the business of doing. The hope is that by seeing things differently, language teachers and teachers' teachers will see themselves differently and thus find increased opportunities for personal and professional growth.

This book is such a book. It is written by scholars who are or who have been intimately involved in foreign language programs, as teachers, coordinators, directors, whether or not language acquisition was their original field of study. Educated in one discipline, they have been interested in crossing boundaries into other disciplines in order to better know and understand what goes on when one teaches a foreign language. But to do that, they have had to both describe language teaching in terms of other disciplines and rethink the other disciplines in language teaching terms. Through this crossing of disciplinary boundaries they have, in effect, both redefined and potentially relocated the traditional boundaries of language study.

It will not be obvious to everyone that one becomes a better teacher by *describing* things differently, rather than by *prescribing* a different course of action. Most teachers and teachers of teachers would say that teaching is a matter of telling students what and how to learn, not of sharing with them a different way of viewing things. Teaching is often seen as "conveying information," "delivering foreign language instruction," while leaving one's own views and the views of the students out of the picture. Only experienced teachers know that this is not so; more often than not, what makes students decide to invest time and energy in studying a foreign language is not the information the teacher gives them, but the little epipha-

nies experienced along the way that are often totally beyond the awareness and control of their teachers. These epiphanies are caused by unexpected ways of seeing or saying, not primarily by more efficient ways of doing things or by increased amounts of information. It is seeing things differently, not doing things differently or knowing more facts that yields an enlarged sense of self. As Emerson once put it:

> Our strength is transitional, alternating; or, shall I say, a thread from two strands. The sea-shore, sea seen from shore, shore seen from sea; the taste of two metals in contact; and our enlarged powers at the approach and at the departure of a friend; the experience of poetic creativeness, which is not found in staying at home, nor yet in travelling, but in transitions from one to the other, which must therefore be adroitly managed to present as much transitional surface as possible. (1884, p. 56)

This book is about moving from one language to another. It attempts to increase "transitional surfaces" by redefining the boundaries within and between areas of knowledge. It does not purport to programmatically redraw our field of knowledge, with the expectations of increased expertise that such a redrawing would entail for language program directors. Many would, in fact, be quite distressed at the thought of having to make themselves and their TAs into specialists of literary theory, sociology, anthropology, cultural theory, which they have not been trained to be. Rather, the experience of poetic creativeness that this book hopes to give language program directors will emerge from their willingness to see the shore from the sea, the sea from the shore, and to draw their own conclusions as to what the sea-shore should look like.

In this introductory chapter, I first describe the shore, so to speak: the increased professionalization of language program directors, which has earned them academic respectability, but has not, ironically, better integrated them into the intellectual life of the academy. In a second section, I describe the sea: the larger issues currently debated in postsecondary education concerning the production and transmission of knowledge by academic institutions. In a third section, I show how the papers in this volume offer a double vision, both from within and from outside the language teaching field, prompting us to rethink the role of language program directors and of language programs in general.

The Professionalization of the Language Program Director

Foreign language departments are increasingly seeking specialists in second language acquisition/applied linguistics, with near native competence in the language they teach, to coordinate their undergraduate language curricula and train their graduate students to teach language courses. These positions are still often non-faculty positions, but more and more departments find it worthwhile to invest one of their FTE in the job and offer program directors a faculty position. Indeed, now that the language teaching profession is underpinned by an identifiable and widely recognized (if not always respected) field of research—be it applied linguistics, second language acquisition, foreign language education, or foreign language methodology—manuscripts and grant applications can be refereed, appointment and tenure cases can be peer reviewed, recommendation letters can carry the clout of an established field or discipline. In short, quality control is ensured.

In fact, given the increased competition on the job market for PhDs in foreign literatures, cultures or linguistics, it is often, ironically, someone's language teaching credentials that ultimately decide whether or not one gets a job. The more prestigious or well-known the language program director, the more clout his or her letter of recommendation carries. Thus, language program directors have become key players in the perpetuation of their colleagues' fields. They ensure the quality of undergraduate programs in foreign language education, i.e., they keep students happy learning languages, making sure they stay in the program. Stable or increased enrollments in the undergraduate program are, in turn, a guarantee of graduate student employment as TAs, and, ultimately, of graduate student enrollment. Thus, the presence of a language specialist in a department contributes significantly to young PhDs' ability to further their discipline.

Language program directors have also become indispensable to other units on campus. Graduate students in the social sciences doing fieldwork abroad need their expertise in getting quality foreign language instruction crucial to their research; international and area center directors need them to have their Title VI monies renewed; any university committee dealing with the internationalization of its curriculum or with the problems posed by foreign language instruction on campus turns to language program directors, or to Language Center directors for advice. Needless to say, they are also crucially important to commercial publishers and textbook authors, as their decisions regarding textbooks can have enormous financial repercussions.

All this attention to the direction of language programs has been accompanied by an increased professionalization of the director's position. Those who are in charge of foreign language programs have their own organization (AAUSC) and publication series. They are known to have an expertise that their departmental colleagues don't and cannot have. The acronyms they are given—"Language Teaching and Culture *Specialists*" (LTCS) or "fully prepared language *personnel*" (Rivers 1993, p. 6), "Foreign Language Program *Directors*" (FLPD) (Heilenman and Tschirner 1993, p. 111), "*Directors* of Basic Language Instruction" (Lee and VanPatten 1991, p. 116), "TA *Coordinators*" or "TA *Supervisors*" (Arens 1993), "Foreign Language *Methodologists*"—stress the highly professional, specialized nature of what is viewed, fundamentally, as an administrative position. The hallmark of good administrators is the smooth and efficient running of the operations with which they are entrusted. Accordingly, language program directors are expected to be concerned primarily with the efficient delivery of foreign language instruction, in the same manner as graduate student advisors are expected to give professionally enlightened guidance to the graduate students in their care. But, of course, that is where the analogy stops.

For a graduate student advisor is viewed primarily as a scholar and a teacher who happens to be appointed, for a limited term, graduate student advisor, whereas a language specialist is viewed primarily as a language program director and teacher who is also (for some, when time permits) a scholar. In fact, the irony seems to be that the increased professionalization of language specialists has both established their position more firmly than ever within language departments, and at the same time accentuated the rift between them and their colleagues in other disciplines, thus marginalizing them even more from the intellectual life of the university. Scholars in charge of language programs have been increasingly distressed about this turn of events; they have generally chosen among three classic responses: exit, loyalty, or voice (Hirschman 1970).

Torn between the expectations of research and scholarship and the desire to teach one's field of specialization on the one hand, and the overwhelming demands of language program administration on the other, the first response, after a number of years trying to do both, is to let go of the direction of the language program and to join the ranks of regular faculty. Some scholars have chosen this exit option only with regret, for they have a keen sense of their educational mission and their exit from the language program only reinforces the split between scholarship and teaching in academia.

A second response is to devote all one's energy to the task as defined in one's job description, especially if it is not a faculty position. This loyalty option includes a dedication to developing efficient guidelines for TAs, managing crises swiftly and wisely, scheduling, observing and evaluating classes, giving methods courses, keeping abreast of new pedagogic techniques and innovative materials, and keeping foreign language instruction up-to-date and relevant by designing and producing ever newer and better pedagogic materials. Those who choose that option generally feel overworked, but they get great satisfaction from work well done. They often have given up on being integrated more closely in the governance of their department and in the intellectual life of the academy as a whole.

A third response is to attempt to make one's voice better heard both on campus and within the profession. Through newly founded Language Centers or National Language Resource Centers, the program directors who choose this option have built bridges to other units on campus who appreciate their expertise: international and area studies, instructional technology programs, business schools, schools of education, and overseas programs. They organize conferences, lectures and workshop series on topics related to language pedagogy; they initiate materials development projects. Their efforts at visibility have given language teaching on campus a professional focus and a renewed sense of pride. In addition, some have established electronic networks on the Internet that serve as a forum for the professional concerns of teachers and coordinators alike. For example, the list <flasc-l@uci.edu>, initiated in February, 1994, by Elizabeth Guthrie, language program director in the French department at UC Irvine, aims to "provide a forum for the discussion of issues in the supervision and coordination of foreign-language programs." In its first year of existence, it has enabled the approximately 200 list members to air their views at various times on such professional concerns as: availability of software for foreign language classes, choice of textbooks, pricing and sales practices of textbook publishers, content of audiotapes and other ancillaries, false beginners, grading equity and grade inflation, relation to literature faculty, terms of employment, personnel problems in the supervision of lecturers, selection of teaching assignments for TAs. The AAUSC itself has issued a policy statement on the hiring of TA supervisors, which stresses the importance of their presence on departmental faculties (see Peter Patrikis, this volume).

Of course, Hirschman's three options rarely exist in their pure form. Most language program directors settle for a combination of the three, try-

ing to find time in their busy schedule to do some research, while at the same time running the most efficient program possible, and engaging in one sort of advocacy or another. But what really separates them from the rest of their colleagues is not so much the amount of work they do (after all, most faculty members also work much more than 40 hours a week), nor even so much differences in salary (although non-faculty program directors usually earn far less than their faculty colleagues). The crucial difference, I suggest, is that most language program directors see themselves primarily as supervisors, whose first responsibility is to their TAs and their classes, whereas faculty see themselves primarily as scholars, whose first responsibility is to their discipline.

Thus, even though language specialists have made themselves heard and have rendered themselves visible to their colleagues and administration, they have not been seen nor listened to as they should. For although they are strongly tied to a language field, e.g., German, French, or Spanish, they don't view themselves from the perspective of a discipline, e.g., literary studies, linguistics, history, or sociology. Yet that's where the action is currently in academia. What is happening in academia is no less than a tidal wave of self-questioning regarding the nature and role of the disciplinary knowledge produced, preserved, and transmitted by the academy.

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Disciplinary Boundaries in Question

The themes that weave themselves in and out of the chapters of this book are indicative of the epistemological shifts occurring in academia. They attempt to give an answer to fundamental questions regarding our intellectual integrity and our educational mission.

The first shift is ideological. As the twentieth century comes to a close, all-encompassing ideological systems like Marxism or capitalism have lost their explanatory power. The ideological certainties that had fueled the intellectual debates of the modern period since the days of the Enlightenment have been severely challenged by a more cautiously realistic postmodern view of the world. Truths have become contingent on perspective and point of view, on one's historical and social position. Self-reflexivity is in order. The belief in the superiority of Western civilization has been seriously battered after the horrors of two world wars. In fact, postmodernism, writes Patti Lather, is "a code-name for the crisis of confidence in Western conceptual systems" (1994 p. 102). This crisis has led some postmodernist scholars to totally dismiss history and meaning altogether, and to retrench from politics. As Billig and Simons write, "the suspicion against claims of truth is at the same time a flight from politics" (1994, p. 5).

The second shift is demographic. The increasingly multicultural composition of our society has put in question the canonical knowledge of yesteryear. It requires a totally different type of education because students no longer attach a common purpose, a common value, even a common discourse to what they are learning. The fact, for example, that by the year 2005 more Asians than whites will be entering the University of California, must make us pause and reflect on the content and the form of knowledge we deliver to undergraduates. It makes painfully apparent the well-known but consistently ignored fact that knowledge is socially and rhetorically constructed, and that the truths that we teach as universal are historically and socially relative (see Nicolas Shumway, this volume).

The third shift is disciplinary. The growing influence of the social and cognitive sciences over such traditional human sciences as philosophy and literature is making accessible to language teachers a variety of research areas that are all relevant to their endeavor: social psychology, anthropology, ethnography, cultural studies, psycho- and sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, second language acquisition, pragmatics. The repercussions of the "global age" that is occurring not only in economics and politics, but also across fields and disciplines, are unsettling for everyone in academia, not only for language teachers (Kramsch 1994).

The fourth shift is technological. The electronic revolution and the sudden access to unlimited sources of information in oral, written, visual, and electronic form are putting in question the very notion of discipline; they are forcing all teachers, and not only language teachers, to decide what is important to know and to pass on, and what is expendable knowledge, beyond what textbooks and custom tell teachers to teach (See James Noblitt, this volume).

These four developments of the last decades constitute major upheavals that are shaking at the foundations of the old idea of the university. Naturally, they create inconsistencies and dilemmas. For example, language program directors are asked to keep the curricular status quo in their departments while departmental boundaries are put in question. They are expected to teach "only" language while the boundaries among literature, language, and culture are more blurred than ever. Their TAs are asked to teach stable meanings and assertable truths about the target language and culture in their language classes, while they themselves write their graduate term papers on the language dilemmas and the epistemological uncertain-

ties of the postmodern era. Language specialists should be encouraged to participate in the current questionings; indeed they have much to contribute to the debate, for they are often faced in their classrooms with the cross-cultural, cross-language concerns of a postmodern age.

The difficulty, however, is to find a way of *describing* these concerns that makes visible their relevance both to the undergraduate language program and to the academic endeavor as a whole. Our descriptions should be both locally and globally relevant. But if we use words familiar to language teachers, teachers might be tempted to say, So, . . . what's new?; if we use unfamiliar words, teachers might think, So . . . what does that have to do with me? Discourse itself has become a problem in the multicultural, postmodern world of higher education (Kramsch 1995a and b). So I appeal to the reader's good will and imagination, as I propose to examine some of the major questions discussed today regarding the production and the transmission of knowledge in academic settings.

1) How is academic knowledge relevant to the outside world?

The term "culture wars" coined by Gerald Graff (1992) captures well the polarizations that have characterized academia in the last ten years, especially in the humanities and the arts. With the dramatic diversification of voices and approaches brought about by feminist and ethnic studies (hooks 1990), new historicism (Greenblatt 1990), postmodern (Harvey 1989) and postcolonial thought (Bhabha 1994), the world of stable, canonical knowledge has been put in question. The interpretation of history, the choice of literary texts, the reading of newspapers have been shown to be no innocent undertakings. They all bear the mark of our historical and cultural positionings. Colleagues in English and American studies are redrawing the boundaries of their discipline to have it more accurately reflect the new emerging meanings of the age (Greenblatt and Gunn 1993). New fields have developed: the field of cultural studies is a distinct attempt to break the traditional boundaries of narrow disciplinary thinking, and to find bridges between scholars with broad common interests (Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler 1992). Concurrently with these epistemological shifts, the financial cutbacks and the increased competition on the academic market are putting renewed pressure on universities to serve the national political and economic interests of the time by justifying their choice of the knowledge they produce and transmit, and by demonstrating its relevance to the current needs of society. Foreign languages are particularly vulnerable to this pressure (see Peter Patrikis, this volume).

Put in foreign language teaching terms, the question might be phrased as follows: How can we teach language as social practice? If a language is not only a system of formal structures linked to one another to form cohesive texts, but also expresses meanings that are relevant to the discourse communities that speak that language, how can we teach meanings that are relevant both to the native speakers and to our students, given that they both belong to radically different discourse communities?

The question of relevance is a momentous one for language teachers. Consider, for example, first-year French. It is now common practice to use publicity ads to teach authentic language, like the recent advertisement for a department store in Paris, the Bon Marché Rive Gauche, where a regal-looking woman with a diadem in her hair, holds up to the viewer in her white-gloved hand a credit card giving its customers a 10% rebate. The caption says: "Rive Gauche, il existe encore des privilèges que nul ne souhaite abolir." (On the Left Bank, there still exist privileges that no one wishes to abolish). Teaching language as social practice would mean not merely glossing the words "Bon Marché: department store on the left bank of the Seine," "nul = personne," or even "abolition des privilèges: reference to the night of 4 August 1789, where the nobility abolished its birth privileges on the altar of the French Revolution in the name of liberté, égalité, fraternité." It would be more than just showing first-year students how far they can get along with cognates like "privilège" and "abolir," and with their general knowledge of credit cards and commercial practices. Teaching language as social practice would mean that the teacher, speaking French, but using cognates as much as possible, raises the students' interest in the French *dissonances* or *contradictions* apparent in the ad between the *réalité républicaine* of the *rive gauche* with its *tradition révolutionnaire de Mai 68*, and the *mythologie royaliste* to which this ad alludes. It would mean attracting their attention to the way even the letters of the caption reveal this dissonance: *le R de Rive gauche est un R aristocratique, royaliste*, the teacher might say, while the other letters look *démocratiques, égalitaires*. This is indeed the sociohistorical context on which this ad is capitalizing in order to manipulate its viewers into buying at the Bon Marché. First-year students obviously cannot discuss in French the larger social and political implications of this dissonance or discrepancy in present-day French mentality. But through the American teacher's dismay, or benevolent irony at uncovering the latent classism of the ad, they can be alerted to the fact that meanings are not arbitrary, personal choices, but are historically and socially determined.

Once the students have realized that the meanings conveyed by this ad are determined by a context larger than the words themselves, they can be made to reflect in turn on how their comments about the ad reflect their own social upbringing and cultural values. For example, the difficulty that many American undergraduates may have in seeing any contradiction or dissonance between *égalité* and *privilège* may be viewed as the result of their socialization into an American society that has solved the problem of inequity by seeing égalité as an equality of opportunity, not an equality of outcome. Thus, the notions of "authentic context of use" and "discourse communities" apply both to the use of language among native speakers and to the use of the language by non-native speakers.

We should be aware, of course, that many undergraduates do not take a foreign language because they are interested in language as social practice. Indeed, as was shown by a recent survey of Australian learners of French taken by Anne Martin and Ian Laurie (1993), "culture panic" accounts for a great deal of the disinterest of students in literary and cultural content. As Charles J. James noted in a personal communication (1995), at institutions where American Sign Language (ASL) can be used to fulfill the language requirement, many students perceive it to be easier than a natural language, precisely because it is seen as having less cultural baggage.

The theme of language as social discourse is strongly discussed throughout this book. For example, the reflective practice Celeste Kinginger recommends for teachers is precisely aimed at making visible the invisible social and cultural meanings that imbue the way language users, students in classrooms, and native speakers in their natural habitat make sense of their environment, based on the way they have been socialized and educated in that environment. Of course, one consequence of this view of language as social practice is to blur the traditional boundary between skill and content. Learning the word *privilège* as used in the French ad is acquiring both lexical skill and sociohistorical content. Eliminating the distinction between skill and content further blurs the distinction between lower division language courses and upper division content courses. If we teach language as social practice, the difference between the two traditional tiers of the undergraduate curriculum is a difference in degree, not in nature (see Samuel Cheung, this volume). On both practical and theoretical grounds, all courses given within an undergraduate curriculum, whether they be called "French 1," "Introduction to literature," or "German culture and society," teach *language* in its multiple and varied

discourse forms. In this respect, *language* program directors may concentrate their efforts on the lower division courses, but they cannot make intellectually valid decisions there if they don't have a clear sense of the aims of the whole undergraduate program, and if, vice-versa, their literature colleagues don't understand the aims of the language program.

2) How is knowledge socially and culturally constructed?

Sociological theories of knowledge (e.g., Berger and Luckman 1966) and language (e.g., Duranti and Goodwin 1992), anthropological theory (e.g., Geertz 1973), social psychology (Vygotsky 1962) and feminist and postcolonial theory (von Hoene, this volume) have made it clear that language not only reflects social reality, but constructs it as well through the interactions of its users. Sociocultural theory of second language acquisition, based on the work of the Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky, emphasizes the fact that cognition is linguistically mediated (Lantolf 1994). The term "co-construction" has recently been advanced by sociolinguists to characterize the way social interaction creates the identities and subjectivities of speakers and readers/writers interacting through spoken or written texts (Jacoby and Ochs, forthcoming). French feminist theory prefers instead to talk of the "constitution of the subject through language" and Freudian psychoanalysis shows how it is linked to perceptions of self and other elicited by the use of one or the other language (see Linda von Hoene, this volume). Critical discourse analysis brings to light the subtle processes through which ideologies get expressed in the way people speak and write, and how individuals and institutions exercise power and control over the construction and the transmission of knowledge (e.g., Fairclough 1989, Fowler et al. 1979).

For foreign language teachers, these issues might translate into the following question: If the system of beliefs, attitudes, and values that constitute culture imposes constraints on what meanings are possible through the use of sanctioned channels and genres of language use in our own society, how can we as *foreign* language teachers teach meanings that are not sanctioned in our society but might be sanctioned in other societies at other times? Since meanings are conveyed through the very language we teach, our pedagogic choices are culturally significant. For example, culture determines the kinds of meaning we make accessible through the kind of *channel* we choose to teach; a picture conveys different cultural messages than a conversation, a poem, or an interactive computer program on the same theme (see Samuel Cheung, this volume)—different medium, differ-

ent message. Rhetorical *genres* also limit the availability of potential meanings, which is why certain scholars prefer to write essays rather than scientific papers, because the truths revealed by essays cannot be revealed through any other genre (e.g., the essay by Nicolas Shumway, this volume). Culture acts through the genres teachers expose their students to: A news report on a murder conveys a different cultural meaning from a short story, a feature film, or a multimedia production on that same murder; the discussion of a film in a language class that would only concentrate on the linguistic items used to describe what characters say and wear would systematically ignore the cultural messages conveyed by the filmic medium. Finally, culture affects the way we talk, the *discourse* we select to talk in; different "truths" will emerge from peer talk, teacher-directed Q/A, or seminar discussions.

Within discourse, meanings are constrained through the metaphors language teachers use to describe what they do. In the 1970s, the metaphors were taken from the growing field of communication technologies and commercial transactions: Terms like COMMUNICATION, NEGOTIATION of meaning, AUTHENTIC texts are vestiges of that era. In the 1980s, the metaphors were taken from the social sciences and interactionist theories of human learning; language teachers became concerned with INTERACTION, COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT, APPROPRIATE language use. In the 1990s, the metaphors reflect a concern for individual autonomy as in AUTONOMOUS learning and INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES, and the cultural IDENTITY of the learner in multilingual/multicultural classroom communities (Kramsch 1995c).

Foreign language teachers must beware of the power of metaphors to shape—and limit—their understanding of themselves and their endeavors. For example, if we call what we teach in class INPUT, we're likely to see it as something we "put in," rather than something that, for instance, as Ann Morrow Lindbergh would say, we lay at the feet of our students for them to discover, as "gifts from the sea" (Lindbergh 1955). In the final analysis, it might be by their metaphors that scholars in various disciplines distinguish themselves most from one another. By seeing what we give our students as "input", we emphasize the feasibility of learning, the manageability of teaching, a reassuring thought for young TAs, but one that some would call authoritarian or manipulative. By seeing the knowledge we lay at their feet, for them to take or not, as so many "gifts from the sea," we assume a more humble, and more poetic stance, but one that some would call irresponsible or elitist. These are two different styles of teaching, grown in different disciplines.

The metaphors proposed by the papers in this volume attempt to redirect our thinking about what language teaching is about. They build upon the importance of perceptions and imaginings in our conception of culture and language. Blyth's notion of SPEECH COMMUNITIES tries to counteract the view of "one language - one speech community" that has been prevalent among language teachers; the metaphor of multiple speech or discourse communities serves to validate autochtonous speech communities like the francophone residents of Louisiana, and integrate them in the teaching of French there. Shumway's metaphor of SEARCHING FOR AVERROES could help counteract the view that culture is something that can be directly taught by "telling it like it is." It helps to see the teaching of culture as an impossible yet desirable process of translation. Webber's metaphor of METAMORPHOSIS attempts to describe a new way of viewing the relationship of theory and practice in language teaching. These metaphors have to be seen as rhetorical attempts to define the boundaries of language study in ways that enrich, rather than restrict, our understanding of the field. In Shumway's essay, however, the author illustrates the difficulty teachers have in changing people's metaphors as students commonly resist finding truths other than the "tiny truths" they live by. That is where teachers need all the eloquence they can muster, and where an essay or a poem might be more effective than a list of facts.

Seeing language learning as sociocultural practice raises the question of the role played by one's first language when learning a second. If learners cannot and indeed should not leave themselves out of the picture, if their learning is filtered through their own subjectivities, and the way they have been socialized and educated in their first language, then maybe we should rethink whether the native tongue, banned from classrooms in the name of total immersion, might not be of use after all (see Carl Blyth, this volume).

The implications of the socially situated nature of learning are particularly acute when teaching reading and writing. Richard Kern's expanded view of literacy as a critical perspective on the use of language (this volume) is a direct consequence of the new awareness of the sociocultural nature of knowledge mentioned above. If the written language is subject to social conventions that regulate its use, and if literacy is therefore socially situated and socially controlled, then we can no longer teach reading as merely deciphering signs on a page. These signs do not express the individual thoughts of individual authors; their meanings are highly sensitive to notions of genre and audience. Texts are written in answer to implicit questions set by the environment, for readers with quite specific expecta-

tions. Readers themselves impose on texts their own expected meanings, contingent upon their own socialization and education.

There certainly is no single way of understanding a text, especially not in our multicultural classrooms, but the multiple interpretations our students come up with are not arbitrary. They too are socially constructed, rooted in the respective imagined discourse communities to which our students belong. Reading written discourse thus becomes akin to reading material culture while on an ethnographic field trip during a study abroad. Even though the tools of discourse analysis and the methods of ethnographic inquiry are quite different, they both have in common the concern for the social context in which words and cultural phenomena are embedded (see Richard Jurasek, this volume). In fact, one could argue that because written language is more likely to be exposed to public scrutiny than spoken language (which is more ephemeral), it is more socially conventionalized than spoken language. However, at the same time it offers more opportunities for breaking social conventions because the constraints on written texts are more visible than those imposed on speech (Widdowson 1993, Becker 1985).

3) What knowledge is worth teaching in an academic setting?

As Jim Noblitt convincingly argues in this volume the sources of knowledge have become increasingly diversified, due to three factors: the explosion of information technologies, the direct access to regions of the globe inaccessible during the Cold War, and increased geographic mobility. As a result, academia's monopoly on the construction of knowledge is being put into question. The role of the teacher as sole purveyor of knowledge is also being questioned. In language teaching terms, this question could be phrased as follows: If some aspects of language are better learned in natural or electronic environments than in classrooms, and if the teacher and the textbook are no longer the sole sources of knowledge, what is the responsibility of the language teacher? how should we view the relationship of language and culture?

The implications of such a question are far-reaching. If the best way to learn native language use is, for instance, to go to the country and observe how native speakers act, then TAs need to teach their students what to observe, how to observe it and how to interpret what they observe (see Thom Huebner, Richard Jurasek, this volume). Ethnographic techniques can be used to learn about the foreign language and culture, and to find out more about what goes on in classrooms. The notion of teacher-as-ethnographer is becoming popular, even if it is raising controversies (van Lier 1994, Genesee 1994, Kramsch 1995c). But if students now can get knowledge about the foreign culture not only through sojourns abroad but also through multimedia technology, i.e., through direct access to authentic events, what TAs need to teach is how to distinguish between cultural phenomena, how to judge which are important, relevant, representative of the culture, and which are not.

This has always been the responsibility of language teachers; but up to now, textbooks and curricular tradition have pre-selected what teachers teach and in which order, e.g., grammar through grammatical rather than functional or discourse-based syllabi, culture through reading selections about sports, food, or holidays rather than through political or historical texts. How can students learn to select relevant knowledge from the vast authentic resources of multimedia environments? Will they watch foreign television noticing only grammatical and lexical items and otherwise "read" it like they would read American television, or will they be taught how to read the foreign medium? And from which point of view? The current fashionable term is "learning strategies," but very few young teachers know how to teach strategies instead of teaching facts of grammar and vocabulary. The ability to judge what is worth learning, and why, is exactly what Kern (this volume) calls a "new type of literacy," which requires making both the content and the process of language use visible. The challenge for the language studies director is to teach TAs how to first acquire, then teach, this new type of literacy. For teaching students how to learn rather than teaching them the subject matter requires that TAs relinquish control without relinquishing accountability—a difficult task just as these young teachers are learning to develop a sense of their own authority and control in the classroom.

If program directors want to teach their TAs how to let go of controlling their classes without abdicating their responsibility as educators, they have to model that stance themselves. One way to do that is to be less concerned with controlling the effectiveness and managerial competencies of their TAs, and more interested in their own intellectual growth and well-being. This argument, which might sound paradoxical or even outright scandalous to some, is forcefully made by Mark Webber in the first chapter of this volume. By giving distance its due (which is not the same as divesting oneself or becoming indifferent), language studies scholars leave themselves room for engaging their TAs in their own intellectual inquiry. This is not only good for the intellectual health of both parties, but essen-

tial for developing the judgment needed to answer the question: In what should my students invest their time, and their cognitive and emotional energies learning? Training teachers to answer that question is inordinately more difficult than training them to deliver a knowledge selected by someone else. It is not enough to poll language learners to find out what they want or "need." It requires personal integrity and sound educational judgment, based on an understanding of the larger picture.

The redefinition of language study proposed in this volume requires a thorough rethinking of such familiar notions as "communicative language teaching" and "teaching the four skills." It must have become clear from the considerations above that teaching language as communication means teaching the way language both reflects and creates the social power relations, mindsets, and worldviews of speakers and writers within specific discourse communities. The meanings that are communicated through language are to a large extent determined by the way these discourse communities interpret the world around them. As the ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel once wrote: "The basis of culture is not shared background knowledge, but shared rules of interpretation" (Garfinkel 1972, p. 304). Communicative language teaching, then, should no longer be viewed as teaching discrete skills for conveying and receiving clear-cut information and for transmitting stable meanings that students can look up in the dictionary. All meanings are dependent on the cultural context in which they are expressed. They are culturally coded: The students' utterances reflect their own school culture, family culture, ethnic or gender-related culture, or their national culture. The target language speakers' utterances and written texts can only be understood against the backdrop of their discourse community's assumptions, attitudes, and worldviews, i.e., their culture; the textbooks' selection of topics, illustrations, layout, the texts' choice of register and genres, all reflect the educational and political cultures of their authors. In short, teaching language for communication needs to be redefined as the teaching of *language as an explicit cultural practice* in which the learners' native culture(s) and the culture(s) of those who speak the language are made visible, so that they can be identified, interpreted, and put in relation with one another. The papers in this volume all attempt to redefine communicative language use as much more than the exchange of culture-free information and the exercise of one or the other skills. Rather, they consider the expression, interpretation and negotiation of meanings that we call "communication" to be culture itself (see Kramsch 1993).

Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study

Because the book is aimed at deepening and strengthening the ties between literary studies, cultural studies, linguistics, and foreign language pedagogy, which each have their own "theories," it starts by taking a fresh look at the theoretical boundaries of language study. The opening chapter by Mark Webber proposes a new way of viewing theory, not as a more or less useful, more or less intimidating add-on to pedagogic practice, but as a metaphor for the deep meaning of the practice. Taking Gregor Samsa's metamorphosis as a metaphor for a sudden revelation of some deeper truths about oneself and the world, Webber argues that theory is a way of "seeing something as something else." It is a metaphorical *stance* that accepts the indeterminacy of signs, the contingency of meaning, and brings to light connections and relationships. For example, teachers who espouse this way of seeing view stereotypes not as "bad" untruths, but as "an instance of and a metaphor for how we apprehend the world, for our inability to reduce difference and distance until they disappear" (p. 22). These teachers will not try to eradicate stereotypes, but, rather, "recognize the fact that this distance (error) exists and make it productive" (p. 22). Theorizing, then, is not losing sight of the practice, or engaging in useless fabulations about the practice; it is trying to "make sense of something we originally hold to be different from, other than, or outside ourselves" (p. 23). It entails distancing oneself from business-as-usual in order to view oneself within a larger context.

Theory is not only a stance; it is also a disciplinary *content*. Various contexts have given rise to various metaphorical constructions that each try to account for issues, such as space and territoriality, identity and foreignness, inclusion and exclusion, authenticity and truth. All these issues are of concern to those who engage in cultural studies or critical theory, but also eminently to those who study what it means to trespass someone else's linguistic territory and appropriate for oneself someone else's language. Webber shows on two examples, Said's "orientalism" and Mulvey's "male gaze," how theoretical constructs have had to invent a new language to capture the new meanings they want to convey. This is why dealing with theory, Webber argues, is like dealing with a foreign language. Theory is a metaphor for meanings that cannot be expressed in any other way, in the same manner as one language can never be completely translated into another. The truths that one learns through the use of French or Chinese will never be quite the same as those learned through the use of English.

In Chapter 2, following up on Webber's metaphorical view of theorizing and theory, Linda von Hoene shows how psychoanalytic, feminist, and postcolonial theory can give a fresh perspective on issues of difference and identity in language learning. Drawing on a psychoanalytic case study and the work of feminist scholars, she argues that learning a language is much more than becoming a proficient user of another code; it is a process in which subjectivities are constituted, shaped, and transformed in the encounter between self and other; the anxiety of losing one's subjectivity and the desire to identify with the other constitute the two poles of a continuum along which language learning takes place. This confrontation with *difference*, which foreign language education has often confused with the mere acknowledgment of student *diversity*, can, when taken seriously, prompt program directors to reexamine the readings they give their TAs in their methods courses.

After setting the stage for a new way of "seeing" language study, we then turn to three chapters that define in new ways our educational boundaries. In Chapter 3, Richard Kern extends the metaphorical stance to the acquisition of literacy in general. In a move that might be unfamiliar to language teachers, but that draws on well-established literacy theory, Kern redefines the traditional notions of literacy as the mere ability to read and write. When seen within the larger context of ideology and control, of socialization and schooling, of the conventions of genre, and the constraints of various modes of communication, literacy becomes plural. Rather than one literacy, Kern proposes the idea of multiple literacies—"roughly defined as dynamic, socially and historically situated practices of producing, using and interpreting texts for variable purposes" (p. 62). The development of second language literacy, so defined, is an all-encompassing technical, cognitive, social and cultural process in the use of both spoken and written texts. It is accompanied by a high degree of critical awareness of how meaning is produced, transmitted and controlled through language.

In Chapter 4, Sam Cheung gives a step-by-step demonstration of a metaphorical reading of a Chinese poem in a Chinese language class. The linguistic analysis presented here clearly sharpens the students' vision of shapes, sounds and symbols. The activities described engage the students in discovering both the referential and the metaphoric (or representational) meaning of grammar. They illustrate a dialogic approach to teaching poetry that takes reader responses into account while paying close attention to the wording of texts. Such a way of reading, which is both rigorous and creative, forms an ideal bridge between language and literature study.

In Chapter 5, Celeste Kinginger considers the implications of a discourse-based, sociocultural theory of language and language learning, rather than the overwhelmingly psycholinguistic theory that has prevailed up to now. Her definition of language teaching as "reflective practice" enjoins American foreign language teachers to "see" their endeavors as in part counteracting the overwhelmingly utilitarian discourse of U.S. education. In her view, the language program director is at the crucial intersection of several incompatible discourses, e.g., the discourse of assessment and expertise vs. the discourse of unquantifiable human understanding, the discourse of teacher training vs. the discourse of teacher education. She urges program directors to see themselves less as administrators and more as scholars, using their practical teaching experience to inform their understanding of the theory and letting their theoretical insights inform their practice.

Picking up on von Hoene's feminist theory of difference and on the sociocultural theories of language and language learning adduced by Kern and Kinginger, Carl Blyth revisits in Chapter 6 the linguistic boundaries of language study in a classroom environment. Drawing on sociolinguistic theory of heteroglossia and code-switching, he argues that the artificial monolingual monocultural model of the native speaker, which teachers and textbooks traditionally hold up to students, not only has no social reality, but is the wrong reality for our students to emulate. Learning a foreign language, he argues, is making them into bilinguals, not monolinguals, and our task is to help them deal with this double allegiance explicitly. His provocative argument encourages us to rethink the total ban on the use of the native tongue advocated by traditional communicative approaches. There is a role, he says, for a judicious use of the L1 for comparative, reflective, critical purposes in foreign language classes.

Chapter 7 by Thom Huebner further redefines the linguistic boundaries of language study, this time in natural environments, such as study abroad. It surveys the relatively small body of research done in the past ten years on the various aspects of sojourns abroad seen from the perspective of language acquisition theory: formal vs. informal learning; factors related to age, gender, motivation, language background; and the development of interpersonal communicative skills vs. academic learning competencies. The paper shows various quantitative and qualitative methods of evaluating the effectiveness of studying a language in the country in which it is

spoken rather than in the artificial environment of the classroom. It should help classroom teachers have a more realistic sense of what linguistic gains can be obtained in academic and in natural settings.

After defining the boundaries of language study in theoretical, educational, and linguistic terms, we look at the traditional cultural boundaries of language study, as both spatial boundaries and boundaries of the mind. The first chapter in this section forms a bridge between the culture of the classroom and the culture of the country where the language is spoken. Richard Jurasek (Chapter 8) describes the practice of ethnographic inquiry as a means of preparing students to observe, analyze and interpret the foreign cultural reality they encounter when studying abroad. Adopting the practices of anthropologists and ethnographers not only as an evaluation instrument for researchers, but as an educational tool for foreign language learners themselves, Jurasek advocates using interview techniques, diaries, and field journals to help students make sense of their cultural experience. For him, reading a city is akin to reading a text in the language classroom: It requires withholding judgment, making connections, seeing patterns, drawing hypotheses, and revising one's understanding of oneself in light of the other.

Such a revision is a never-ending paradoxical process of trying to comprehend what is often bound to remain incomprehensible. We have been so socialized into certain ways of thinking, certain ways of seeing, that we will never totally understand cultures from other times, other places. In Chapter 9, Nicolas Shumway gives a convincing illustration of this both desirable and impossible "search for Averroes." His essay brings to this volume the necessary dose of humility and faith in our educational enterprise, so that we can continue to teach foreign cultures, but with a deep understanding of the possibilities and the limitations of such an endeavor.

Having started with the larger theoretical context of language study and then proceeding to redefine traditional boundaries in the light of various theories and theoretical stances, we then return to the larger context, shaped this time not by deep theoretical truths, but by changing environmental conditions of learning. The last two chapters of the book brush a broad picture of some major changes occurring in the teaching of foreign languages, due to shifting institutional power structures and to developments in electronic learning environments.

As mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, one major development has triggered much of the current debate about the teaching of

foreign languages in academic settings: the electronic revolution. In Chapter 10, Jim Noblitt redefines the boundaries of our quest for knowledge in appropriately revolutionary terms. It is little wonder that technology has often come to be viewed by administrators as a panacea to the "foreign language problem," while many teachers, program directors, and other scholars embrace it only with caution. The unlimited access to natural, or "raw," data afforded by the electronic medium, with its infinite possibilities of retrieval, recombination, and archiving have made the ethical responsibility of the foreign language educator one of the major issues in language study. After sketching the consequences of the digital medium for foreign language research and scholarship, Noblitt clearly shows how each medium provides not only different channels, but different meanings as well: The oral medium enables students to know what is worth learning; the print medium lets them see what is worth keeping; the audio-visual medium gives them a holistic context for learning; the digital medium allows them to manipulate in interactive fashion the very knowledge they have acquired, and create new knowledge on their own from primary data. These four modes of learning co-exist today, each offering different possibilities for discovering different types of knowledge about the foreign language and culture.

Like theory, computer technology is not an expendable tool reserved for specialists. As a way of learning and of viewing learning, it already permeates our students' consciousness; it has already affected the way pedagogic materials are designed. Even if language program directors don't actually design their own software, nor even use the software of others, they cannot ignore the epistemological revolution brought about by the digital medium.

Written texts can now be rearranged, recombined at will. Cultural reality can be given any meaning by juxtaposing it with any other or by giving it another contextual frame. This shift in the boundaries of learning environments offers language study both unbelievable opportunities for enrichment, but they also present daunting educational and ethical challenges.

In Chapter 11, Peter Patrikis addresses the issues related to the teaching of foreign languages in academic settings. He examines what deans and administrators are inclined to call, under the term "governance," "the foreign language problem," i.e., the administrative and political structures that define the borders of foreign language study within the academy. Issues of governance include various models of departments as institu-

tional communities and their impact on the academic identity of language programs, the academic identity of program directors, the mismatch between enrollments in language classes and the allocation of resources to language teaching. The volume closes with Peter Patrikis' vision for the future role of language program directors in foreign language departments.

The changes that are occurring within academia are imposed through outside forces that are perhaps beyond our will, but not beyond our control. This book does not reject the insights from postmodernism, but it does not adopt its pessimism and its apolitical stance. On the contrary, it attempts to redefine the political sphere of action and ethical judgment of the language teacher in an era of multiple and contingent truths. Redefining boundaries can offer new ways of "seeing" language itself as a locus of truth and responsibility. Language studies scholars have much to contribute to the renewal of the university in times of change. We hope that the papers in this volume will give program directors, teachers, and students a sense of the centrality of language study within the academic enterprise.

Notes

1. According to a 1990 poll by Yankelevich, Clancy, and Shulman, only 17 percent of the American public think the main reason for going to college is to become more broadly educated. Sixty-seven percent believe that the main reason is to get the skills for a good job (cited in Kasper 1995).

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Part 1

Theoretical Boundaries

The Metamorphosis of the Foreign Language Director, or: Waking Up to Theory

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Introduction: A Kafkaesque Situation

"When Gregor Samsa awoke from uneasy dreams, he found himself transformed from a foreign language director into a student of theory." A dream? A nightmare? No: just a fiction, a parable, a metaphor. Those of us who are engaged in the academic administration of our institutions have already had to get used to the "juridification" of our professions, which requires us to attend as much to union contracts and labor law as to teaching, scheduling, and professional development. And now we seem to be confronted with the "theoretization" of the university as well.

Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, the opening of which I have just travestied, relates the scandal of an enforced transformation in Gregor Samsa's profession, status, life. If Gregor (and the reader) initially believe that he is the victim of an event that has been inflicted upon him by some nameless but malevolent, or at least capricious, force, it gradually becomes clear that Gregor has become that which he already was. His appearance as an insect represents not only the circumpositing of a shell around the "true Gregor" but also the unmasking of a potential that has always been part of him.

My title and first paragraph suggest affinities between Gregor Samsa's situation and that of the foreign language director, but also between contract administration and theory. I am assuming—and perhaps it is an unwarranted assumption based on my own experiences and predilections—that what I have polemically termed "juridification" and "theoretization" are about as unwelcome additions to many foreign language directors' lives as Gregor Samsa's sudden ability to walk on walls and ceil-

ings is to him. But the comparison is not only polemical and is certainly not intended capriciously. It is meant to suggest that, as Kafka's protagonists are (in the language of *The Trial* [*Der Proceß*]) assumed to be guilty, all of us, even those of us who deny juridification and theoretization, are implicated in them as well. Terry Eagleton's Preface to *Literary Theory* quotes to good effect John Maynard Keynes' remark that "those economists who disliked theory, or claimed to get along better without it, were simply in the grip of an older theory" (1983, p. vii). Or, to return to Kafka: There is no life outside the Process or Trial. But I also want to argue in this paper that institutional and theoretical aspects of the life of the foreign language director are neither "external additions" to that life, nor antagonistic to each other, but that they are already present and intimately related. This is not a new argument: It has been a feature of presentations and discussions of deconstructionist approaches for a number of years (cf. Godzich 1986, pp. xii–xv; Weber 1986a, p. ix; 1986b, pp. 195–97). It bears reiteration and development, however, with relation to the specific situation of the institution of postsecondary language instruction.

My paper makes two major arguments about, and with, theory. First, it presents theory as a metaphorical *stance*, as a way of seeing something in terms of something else. This essentially metaphorical explanation of theory has the virtue of making it accessible to foreign language teachers, since it portrays theory in linguistic and cultural terms familiar to all of us in the profession. At the same time, it suggests that theory, understood in this way, enriches the profession and our understanding of it by demonstrating that what we do is not confined to the conveying of paradigms and information. Teaching and learning a new language provide an opportunity to think about how we understand and assimilate that which is foreign to us, whether or not it originates across political, cultural, or linguistic borders. Theory as *metaphor* in the Greek sense—as a "carrying over" or "translation"—is akin to an intercultural event in which we try to preserve an appropriate regard for both cultures while bringing them into meaningful and creative relation to one another.

This rhetorical sense of theory is itself related to, and augmented by, the paper's second argument, that of theory as metaphorical *content*. I have already introduced the notion of borders and foreignness. Current theory, some of which I review in the course of the paper, entails a certain stance, but that stance is intertwined with particular ideas. These frequently speak to issues of territoriality, borders, and foreignness. And these, too, are central components of foreign language teaching. An understanding of theory as content "can help language teachers enrich their understanding of texts, events, [and] instances of language use in their social, political, historical contexts" (Kramsch personal communication), as well as providing guidance in the selection of texts and the development of exercises and activities for students dealing with these texts.[1]

Following this introduction, the first section of this paper situates it and us as productive and receptive participants in theory with reference to typically "Kafkaesque" plots. I take this route because I am comfortable with the kind of discomfort Kafka causes me; it seems both a safe and exciting way of illustrating the problems with a certain kind of theory without either falling completely prey to those problems or underestimating the benefits even these problems can bring. The chapter's second and third sections attempt to identify aspects of theoretical discourses from a number of academic disciplines and interdisciplines that have institutional and conceptual affinities (relevance) to foreign language education and the situation of language program directors. And the fourth section considers possible institutional consequences of dealing with these "other" theoretical approaches.

The chapter neither provides a "field guide to commonly sighted theories," nor cookbook-like recipes for "applying" theory. Neither—and this will become obvious enough—can it claim encyclopedic compass. It relies instead on weaving together strands of metaphorical thought that seem to convey and incorporate theory as it works in general and as it applies specifically to foreign language education. The theories with which it works are those of the affinal and interrelated fields of literature, history, anthropology, psychology, feminism, gender studies, and cultural studies. It takes its topic seriously, but often gives a vent to frustrations and scepticism. It tries to avoid jargon.

As a rhetorical piece, the chapter seeks to persuade with a minimum of pretense. In a large measure, its rhetoric is directed against a certain kind of theory—the kind that gives theory a bad name. The chapter thus seeks to (1) rehabilitate theory in general in the eyes of those who are suspicious of it; and (2) define theory so that it is understandable and relevant in the context of foreign language education. In the end I am persuaded not only that we are always acting "within theory," but that theory consists of nothing more and nothing less than being willing to expose our own ignorance and to act on the consequences of that exposure. And so, while some of what we think of as theory is intimidating and narcotizing, much

is also inviting and invigorating. In the latter, but not the former, sense, I hope this chapter can be considered theoretical.

I. "Seeing as": Theory as Metaphorical Stance

Theory and Practice.

Paul Ricoeur's seminal investigation of how metaphor lives and operates explores, among many other aspects, the notion of metaphor as "'seeing as'" ([1975] 1977, pp. 212–215). Unlike myth, which is "'believed poetry'—metaphor taken literally" (p. 251)—metaphor resists the fiction of the total fusion of its elements: It preserves and signals its own duplicity and fictionality. Thus the reader or hearer who encounters the tenor and vehicle in proximity and who constitutes their relationship as an "almost identity" reserves and exercises the right and necessity to choose from among the potential aspects of similarity those that are, for the particular situation, most appropriate. This is, I would suggest, a quintessentially *theoretical* stance and operation. Seeing something as something else *to a certain extent* establishes a hypothesis that offers orientation in the same obviously simplified fashion as does a map. One knows as a user that the map requires completion, but one is also alert to the possibility that revision and correction will also be necessary. Foreign language professionals are comfortable with both map-reading (including the necessity of re-orientation) as a tool of travel and exploration, and metaphor as a linguistic and conceptual operation. Seeing theory "as" metaphor or map may help to take away the fear of something that might otherwise be so foreign that it is off-putting.

What is it *in theory* that evokes resistance, that puts theory into disrepute? The question is framed ambiguously; and the pun on "in theory," though difficult to resist, is part of the problem. My formulation is no doubt influenced by another short text by Kafka (1992, pp. 531–32). It sets out and explores the relationship of "reality" or "daily life" on the one hand, and the "fabulous" realm of "metaphor" (*Gleichnis*) on the other. The text tells of the resistance that "many" people have to the "words of the sages." This resistance arises from the perception that their words are not applicable to daily life in the sense that what they command is not performable. Instead, the complaint goes, these "metaphors" simply confirm the fact that the incomprehensible is incomprehensible. In response to this summary, a voice advises the complainants to give up their resistance and follow the metaphors. By doing so, this voice reasons, the malcontents will themselves become metaphors and thus free themselves of the cares of daily existence. A different voice counters: "I bet that that, too, is a metaphor," and the first voice confirms: "You have won." The second: "But unfortunately only in metaphor." The first has the final word: "No, in reality; in metaphor you have lost."[2]

For Kafka, losing "in metaphor," like losing "in theory," is losing where it counts. Although metaphor, by its nature, conceptually brings together two realms and comes about when one phenomenon (the tenor) is seen in terms of another (the vehicle), the relationship is "actually" anything but a perfect match. The word *Gleichnis* (usually rendered as "parable" but translated here as "metaphor") refers in its root to identity. But it is an odd sort of identity that is extended as a promise only to be withheld. Such an identity is by definition a non-identity in which the signifying element of the metaphor comes close to merging with the other element to be signified, but does not complete the action. "In fact" it only exists "over there" in its own realm of saga and fable; it is a potential that disappears whenever it is about to be realized (cf. Gray 1987, p. 246).

Part of the problem with theory, as we often encounter it, is the recursiveness of the operation in which it engages and which it urges upon us. Because it has lost faith that there is such a thing as a "grounded" tenor or referent "out there," the turns which it sees in metaphor and tropically emulates are inward turns. It has nothing to turn to for reference, and so turns in on itself.

Now, I am hoping that what I have just written is understandable even to readers who did not come to foreign language teaching by way of literature and who do not love Kafka as much as I do. To the extent that my exposition is understandable, it has overcome one of the stumbling blocks of theory. And to the extent that it illustrates one of the problems of theory as well as the nature of that theory, it may enlighten, thus avoiding another of the sources of resistance to theory. But in thinking about the problem and in writing the account of Kafka's text, I became aware of the power of "theory" to pull me into its gravitational field. Where theory is convinced and seeks to convince others that referentiality is not a "given," it has little more to fall back upon than itself. It then must satisfy itself with a theory of circling and encircling moves, which perpetuate the problem it has recognized and seeks to avoid. On the one hand, the "moves" (a favorite word of theory these days) are in motion precisely because they do not come to rest on a ground; they have to keep moving to avoid the error

of suggesting the stasis of a fulfilled "identity" (*Gleichnis*). At the same time, having deprived themselves of a ground, the "moves" can become turns in a game that makes sense only within its own tropic world of rotations. When referential meaning is impossible, satisfaction consists of a game well played, and one of the rules of the game is that if language denies us the ultimate satisfaction of grounded meaning, we will take our pleasures in the manipulation of language as pure performance or play.

The ability to play with language is itself a sign of a certain degree of linguistic and conceptual sophistication. Students who can play in a foreign language understand and participate in the creative possibilities of that language and of language in general. They also may be less likely to view language instruction as "merely an academic exercise." Thus, activities and texts that engage and develop students' sensitivities and abilities in this regard are a legitimate and effective part of foreign language instruction (see, for example, the section "Kontro-Verse und Wider-Sprüche: Mit Sprache spielen" in Roche and Webber 1995, pp. 150–211). On the other hand, foreign language directors may be skeptical of the kinds of meaningless manipulation encountered in certain aspects of theory. Such activity may be too reminiscent of the formulaic exercises that characterized the worst of structural approaches to language teaching before the advent of communicative approaches. The trick, then, is to distinguish "creative" from "empty" play.

Punning, reliance on etymologies that dangle the bait of "literalness" before snatching it back, the use of words in quotation marks to indicate that they are tropes (potential but not actual identities), the invention and invocation of vocabularies for the adept—all are present in much contemporary theoretical writing. At their best and most frequently, they are honest attempts to comprehend the incomprehensible while building in an insurance policy that indemnifies their users against a charge of believing in a grounded tenor. At their worst, they are in part defensive constructions that protect their architects from others' attempts to understand and criticize them, in part verbal forms of playing with oneself. In this mode they can be simultaneously self-indulgently playful (the cult word, I believe, is "ludic") and humorlessly self-righteous. As a producer of such texts, I recognize how hard it is to avoid the pitfalls of such writing; it does tend to take on a life of its own and to give moments of entangled joy. As a reader, however, I react with annoyance, self-righteously condemning others' supposed self-righteousness.

Resistance to Theory

Paul de Man's influential essay, "The Resistance to Theory," points up some of the problems with theory. His piece began as a contribution on literary theory for a volume similar to this one, the mandate of which he summarizes as follows:

> Such essays . . . are supposed to provide the reader with a select but comprehensive list of the main trends and publications in the field, to synthesize and classify the main problematic areas and to lay out a critical and programmatic projection of the solutions which can be expected in the foreseeable future. (1982, p. 3)

By virtue of the direction in which de Man took his essay and the reception it experienced, it ended as a reflection on why it could not do that which it was originally supposed to. The essay attempts to account for the "resistance" to theory that resulted in the mismatch between de Man's and the editorial committee's expectations.

For de Man, this resistance stems partly from misunderstandings of (1) how literature works; and consequently (2) what a theory of literature must be. "The most misleading representation of literariness, and also the most recurrent objection to contemporary literary theory," he writes, "considers it as pure verbalism, as a denial of the reality principle in the name of absolute fictions, and for reasons that are said to be ethically and politically shameful. The attack reflects the anxiety of the aggressors rather than the guilt of the accused" (p. 11). De Man does not seriously consider the possibility that "verbalism" (pure or impure) might be a factor in some colleagues' aversion to theory, in other words, that those who reject this kind of theory might have a point. Instead, he reasons that resistance is unavoidable, "since theory is itself this resistance" (p. 20). I have obviously left out a lot of what de Man has to say. But he leaves out a lot, too. For example, although he is explicitly talking about *literary* theory, he usually omits the adjective. And although he asserts that he is more interested in finding out something about the self-resistance of theory than in showing up or paying back those who do not share his theory, he implies that their theory is not real theory (it can't be, because it is associated with an uncritical "confinement" within an older theoretical model and does not manifest sufficient self-resistance [p. 18]).

De Man's original essay did not make it into the MLA volume for which it was intended. But a rousing defense of it and de Man are part of a similar work recently published under MLA auspices (Esch 1992). And

Barbara Johnson's book *A World of Difference* contains a homage to de Man as well as a critical discussion of his essay (1987, pp. 42–46). Both Esch and Johnson, along with Culler (1982), are excellent sources for those seeking an orientation to deconstructive approaches to reading. All three defend deconstruction against its opponents (for examples of this opposition see Ellis 1989; Hirsch 1991).

As a reader of theory (both in general and for the specific purposes of this chapter), I am struck by the amount of theoretical attention theoretical works attract, and by how much explication by other theoretical works the "first-order" theoretical works demand: They do not explain so much as call forth explanations of themselves. From their perspective, this is as it should be, for deconstructive theory "displaces or even suspends the traditional barriers between literary and presumably nonliterary uses of language" (de Man 1982, p. 9). That is, there is no (longer any) clear distinction between that which is to be investigated and the medium of investigation. For this reason the division into "first-order" or "second-order" works, like the earlier traditional distinction between "primary" and "secondary" works, while perhaps necessary to clarify chronology, also distorts their relationship. The connection of the relationship between signified and signifier, once believed to be unidirectional, has become commutative, so that the function "tenor" or "vehicle" is determined situationally. This also means that the functions of "clarifier" (e.g., theory, commentary or vehicle) and "to be clarified" (e.g., the original text or tenor) can be assigned variably, and sometimes co-exist in one entity.

I will return to the issue of the relationship between tenor and vehicle later in this paper. For the present, it is sufficient to note two questions of priority that arise in consequence of holding in abeyance what might be called the "directionality of clarification." The first question has to do with the status of the texts or ideas to be clarified. Is it a greater priority to deal with Hegel or de Man, with de Man or Esch? In the contexts of curriculum design, the construction of individual course syllabi, and the teaching of specific lessons, such questions are not foreign to foreign language teachers. For example, the special status previously accorded to "literary masterpieces" of "first-rate"" authors has given way to a sense that it is important to juxtapose a number of discourse types and authors, and that this textual openness not only democratizes the field, but opens up new possibilities for illumination by suspending the unidirectionality that had previously prevailed. Thus, a newspaper article or advertisement may lead to a better understanding of a poem; or that poem may help to explain the newspaper article or advertisement.

The second question concerns the status of the reader. In raising it, I am not referring only to the investigations of reader-response critics or theorists of reception aesthetics (see Holub 1984). The question is: How much responsibility does the writer assume for providing clarification to the reader? This question, too, is familiar to language teachers and foreign language directors, though in another form: How much responsibility do we bear for students and teaching assistants? Are we engaged primarily in working out our "own" problems, or do we seek to engage our students' concerns and provide both clarification and the opportunity for them to articulate and explore their own concerns? Where does communication lie, as theory and practice? If the outline of an answer seems obvious enough in pedagogical terms, it is not always the case theoretically.

Indeed, if this question could be asked with reference to any kind of writing, it seems to be more urgent with regard to certain kinds of theoretical discourse, and not just in the context of deconstruction. In an extremely interesting and provocative volume of conference proceedings on cultural studies, the transcript of the discussion following a paper records a comment beginning with the words, "I confess that I found your paper of forbidding difficulty, as I think many people here did." This elicited the following start at a reply: "I can't apologize for the fact that you found my paper completely impenetrable. I did it quite consciously, I had a problem, I worked it out. And if a few people got what I was saying or some of what I am saying, I'm happy. If not, obviously it's a disaster . . ." (Bhaba 1992, p. 67).

The response, too, is difficult to understand, though not because it uses recondite words, abstruse allusions, or complicated syntax. What is hard to know is how the last two sentences quoted relate to the first two and the extent to which the situation of having just given a paper itself plays a role. While the last two sentences indicate a concern for communication with an audience, the first two suggest that problem-solving is, for the speaker, in this instance a personal, rather than an interpersonal concern. Johnson's discussion of de Man's essay points out that "De Man makes a clear case for teaching as an impersonal rather than an interpersonal phenomenon." To this she opposes "feminist theories of pedagogy" that consciously begin from, and examine, the personal and thus seem to speak more personally to their audience (Johnson 1987, p. 43). Johnson sees these two approaches as "equally compelling" (p. 44) and goes on to show how each needs the other as a reminder of its own potentials and problems.

For the language program director, the tension between "personal" and "interpersonal" approaches recalls another pedagogical debate: Are we teaching, in the first instance, language or learners? Do we present an interpretation or participate with our students in the process of trying to make sense of it? This is a question with both prescriptive and descriptive entailments. Before returning to the prescriptive aspect in the last section of my paper, I want to focus on the importance of considering what we actually do now in our practice. In his oft-cited essay, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," Clifford Geertz proposes that "if you want to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do" (1973, p. 5). In applying this recommendation to the culture of theory, we look to what theorists do, and with whom. Impenetrability is too often present in that which we consider theory; indeed, it may sometimes be considered to mark theoretical discourse. But an "impenetrable" discourse (and I am mindful of the implications of the metaphor I am quoting) is not really discourse at all in the sense of an exchange. If theory and pedagogy are not interpersonal, then theory really does mean "doing it alone," out of an exaggerated fear of having to share with a partner or an inflated infatuation with oneself.

II. Theory as Metaphorical Content

A "Miscellaneous Genre"

In "The Resistance to Theory," de Man seeks to demonstrate why surveys of theory should not be possible. Fortunately, two such overviews that did appear in MLA collections show that one can indeed write about theory intelligently and productively.

Louis Montrose (1992) succeeds in explaining the institutional context of the rise of "New Historicisms" as cultural theory. Montrose cites three factors that have led to the theoretical challenge to "dominant paradigms" in the past twenty years. First, there have been changes in the demographics of the profession that have opened it "to scholars whose gender, ethnicity, religious or class origins, political allegiances, or sexual preferences (or some combination of these) complicate their participation in the cultural and ideological traditions enshrined in the canonical works they study and teach." This has led to "attitudes of resistance or contestation." The second factor is also demographic in that it is generational (the work of the generation of '68), and gender-related (pp. 392–93). Montrose continues:

> Third, the modes of criticism to which I have referred have variously reacted against and contributed to the intellectual ferment of the past two decades. Such ferment, summed up in the word *theory*, has challenged the assumptions and procedures of normative discourses in several academic disciplines. . . . The theoretical field of poststructuralism is inhabited by a multiplicity of unstable, variously conjoined and conflicting discourses. Among the principles some of them share are a problematization of those processes by which meaning and value are produced and grounded; a shift from an essential or immanent to a historical, contextual, and conjunctural model of signification; and a general suspicion of closed systems, totalities, and universals. (p. 393)

As compelling as Montrose's account is, it is surpassed by an essay by Jonathan Culler (1992), the most intelligent and lucid exposition of the place and stance of literary theory that I encountered in working on this paper. The book in which it appears, the MLA's *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, is the second edition of the collection to which de Man was supposed to contribute, and the essay does precisely that which de Man's did not.

Culler identifies main currents of theory:

> Three modes whose impact seems greatest are the wide-ranging reflection on language, representation, and the categories of critical thought themselves undertaken by deconstruction; the analysis of the role of gender and sexuality in every aspect of literature and criticism by feminism and then gender studies; and the development of historically-oriented cultural criticisms that study a variety of discursive practices, involving many objects (the body, the family, race, the medical gaze) not previously thought of as having a history. (p. 201)

He situates theory within a productive and receptive institutional framework that requires that "increasingly, for a piece of critical writing to appear generally significant, it has to seem theoretically significant" (p. 201) and simultaneously expands the notion of theory to include "works of anthropology, art history, gender studies, linguistics, philosophy, political theory, psychoanalysis, social and intellectual history, and sociology" (p. 203). He acknowledges the extent, and explores the sources, of resistance to theory: (1) there is so much of it; (2) it "can seem obscuran-

tist, even terrorist, in its resources for endless upstagings"; (3) it is by its own definition unmasterable both in its breadth and its questioning of the "natural" and "universal" (pp. 206–11). He also recommends that those who wish to pursue an interest in theory either confront their own resistance directly by engaging a theoretical approach "that seems exceedingly foreign" or follow their interests to explore a path of least resistance (pp. 225–26).

Culler is knowledgeable, but he is also eminently readable, explicitly acknowledging his readers as "you." His rhetoric proceeds from a notion of theory as a genre that takes readers and institutions into account. "*Theory*," he asserts, is the nickname for a "miscellaneous genre"

> . . . which has come to designate works that succeed in challenging and reorienting thinking in domains other than those to which they ostensibly belong because their analyses of language, mind, history, or culture offer novel and persuasive accounts of signification, make strange the familiar, and perhaps persuade readers to conceive of their own thinking and the institutions to which it relates in new ways. (p. 203)

This articulation of theory is heartening and exciting—and relevant to those of us whose professional and personal life involves teaching and learning about "foreign" languages and cultures to and with colleagues and students from a number of "domains other than those to which [we] ostensibly belong." The presence in our classrooms and collegium of teaching assistants from a number of disciplines (e.g., literature/cultural studies, linguistics) represents both a challenge and an opportunity for language program directors who must appreciate the "foreign" even as they assimilate and mediate it, for themselves and others. Seen in this light, language program directors run the risk of being swamped by the waves of theory coming at them from different directions, but they also have the opportunity to use their own buoyancy and sense of direction—the sense of orientation deriving from their knowledge of their own field and themselves—to avoid harm while enjoying the invigorating force of the swells.

In the first section of my chapter, I attempted to anticipate and activate Culler's sense of theory by taking his first route, the route of the familiar. And I used Kafka, that quintessential outsider and specialist in marginality, minority, and incompleteness (Deleuze and Guattari [1975] 1986, p. 16), as my vehicle. He provides a link to Culler's second route, that of the "exceedingly foreign," a route that is relevant precisely in the context of foreign language education.

Disciplinary Metaphors

A recent issue of *The New York Review of Books* contains a "call for papers" issued by the "Postmodern Language as a Second Language Association" (Crowther and Taibi 1995). As parody the article does not sustain its promise, but the name of the "sponsoring association" is suggestive. It reminds us both of the fact that theory, like any other discourse, operates in specific contexts; and that as foreign language educators we practice and teach the art of traversing cultures. Learning to negotiate meaning in another tongue and another cultural context, teaching others to do the same, and guiding still others in learning how to do the teaching—these are the essence of our profession. How then, can and should we conceive of theory in specific disciplines and interdisciplines as it pertains to the field of foreign language education in general and the situation of foreign language directors in particular? In this section of my paper, I want to explore this question through an examination of the metaphors used by different disciplinary languages and cultures. In doing so, I will refer to the relationship of identity and difference suggested by Kafka's story of *Gleichnis* as presented earlier.

Territoriality

In reading for this paper, I was struck by the number of titles involving spatial and territorial metaphor. There is the MLA collection *Redrawing the Boundaries* (cf. Esch 1992), Samuel Weber's volume *Demarcating the Disciplines* (1986a), and Claire Kramsch's "Redrawing the Boundaries of Foreign Language Study" (1993). The present collection bears the title *Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study*.

We are "in" "fields" that deal with "foreign" languages—superficially at least, foreign to us as still defined primarily with reference to national borders—and so also involve travelling to and from the country or countries whose language(s) we study, learn, and teach. Perhaps for this reason metaphors of borders and boundaries seem like such familiar territory that we do not always realize (in both senses of the word) their metaphorical derivation and potential. It is a potential to provide orientation by staking out territory, by including and excluding, constituting and defending. But these metaphors are in such general use that, even if one does not go as far as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, with their concept of "metaphors we live by" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, esp. pp. 29–32), it is impossible to deny their pervasiveness.

James Clifford provides a complex and rich discussion of "how cultural analysis constitutes its objects—societies, traditions, communities, identities—in spatial terms and through specific spatial practices of research" (1992, p. 97). He points out the problems of focusing on the "field" (as in ethnographic "fieldwork") while ignoring or suppressing the travel involved in leaving one's own home and arriving at someone else's. Clifford's analysis exposes the problems with the assumption that "culture (singular) equals language (singular)":

> This equation [he continues], implicit in nationalist culture ideas, has been thoroughly unraveled by Bakhtin for whom a language is a diverging, contesting, dialoguing set of discourses that no "native"—let alone visitor—can ever learn. An ethnographer thus works in or learns some part of "the language." And this does not even broach the question of multilingual/intercultural situations. . . . (p. 99)

In considering how this analysis applies to foreign language instruction, I am wary of the temptation to reduce theory to a set of formulaic "applications." This would mean taking Clifford's metaphor as allegory, which would not do justice to his theory or its appropriate implications. On the other hand, if theory is not suggestive, it has no force. Clifford's invocation of linguistic concepts activates the language teacher's attentiveness to dialect, regionality, and other variations and stratifications that make up our notion of "the language." He reminds us that, in teaching "standard, educated" Italian or Korean, we are by no means covering all the possibilities.

If the significance of Clifford's approach for foreign language education is not already apparent at first reading, then it immediately emerges when the quoted passage is set into relation to Kramsch's 1993 essay, "Redrawing the Boundaries of Foreign Language Study." Kramsch focuses on three "fields" whose theory and practice seek to "redraw boundaries": composition studies, feminist studies, and cultural studies. In proposing affinities with foreign language education, she suggests that:

> As a subject matter, foreign language study, like gender studies, teaches difference and diversity. Like rhetoric, it teaches the boundaries between spoken and written language, between oral and literate modes of speech. Like cultural studies, it teaches the social and historical dimensions of language use. As a field of research, whether it calls itself foreign language study or applied linguistics, it draws on such traditionally established disciplines as linguistics, literary criticism, and cultural anthropology. (p. 214)

Kramsch identifies ways in which those involved with foreign language education can benefit from insights achieved in other disciplines. This section of my paper endorses that argument and seeks to provide specific and suggestive examples of how such a process might work. In other words, it takes the argument one step further by claiming that we not only learn useful things from other fields, but the way in which we approach and understand those "foreign" theories is analogous to the way in which we learn a foreign language. If this is so, then the theoretical and institutional consequences are dauntingly far-reaching but extremely exciting.

What would this metaphor mean in Clifford's terms? Without turning him into a moralist, we would be aware of where, theoretically (that is, professionally), we begin, and where we have to go to arrive at the site of our investigation. We would avoid the mistake of assuming univocality within the "culture" of a specific theoretical approach, be it second language acquisition theory, literary or cultural theory, or within our own discipline. While this entails an earnest admonition to abjure pretence, it also relieves us of a heavy burden—the delusion that our knowledge and competence could ever be complete. As Culler says: "The unmasterability of theory is a major cause of resistance to it" (1992, p. 206). The acceptance of unmasterability should also provide the insight conducive to overcoming that resistance.

It is interesting, however, that Clifford explicitly excludes questions of "multilingual/intercultural situations" from consideration, presumably because to include them would be to raise the difficulties to a higher power. And this is so precisely because they are so pertinent to the problematic Clifford describes, and vice-versa. Clifford raises a number of other questions, including the following:

> . . . [W]hy not focus on any culture's farthest range of travel while also looking at its centers, its villages, its intensive field sites? How do groups negotiate themselves in external relationship, and how is a culture also a site of travel for others? How are spaces traversed from outside? How is one group's core another's periphery? (p. 101)

Clearly, Clifford really is talking about "other" cultures here, seriously and responsibly. But he need not be. I recently retrieved, via the Internet, a "parodic flier" from the University of Saarbrücken's "Archive against Xenophobia, Racism and Nationalism." The text, headlined in translation "The Catholic Problem," purports to be a tirade against Catholics who are invading (Protestant) Schleswig-Holstein. The flyer argues, for example,

that Catholics are by nature criminal, since a large percentage of criminal charges in the (largely Catholic) state of Bavaria involve Catholics. It does not take the reader long to begin reading the text in a "double-tracked" manner. One track follows the purported plain text; the other substitutes words from the same formal class or related classes (for example: Moslem, Jew, Turk, refugee-applicant) and registers the relative consistency or inconsistency in reading the two tracks.

I am suggesting a similar operation in the case of Clifford's text, seeing a discipline as if it were a culture, and treating travel and distance similarly as the vehicles of a metaphor. That would mean that we would have to locate ourselves in a "home" culture or discipline, aware of those disciplinary cultures whose boundaries abut our own, but also attentive to what it takes to reach and understand those "farther afield." We would also reflect on the geography and travels of those other disciplines, their centers and compass.

Orientation, Complexity, and Hegemony

Among those who heard Clifford give the paper from which I quoted earlier were some who wanted him to clarify points, or who wanted to make their own points, bringing out perspectives they thought he had not sufficiently considered. In her own paper on "Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination," bell hooks, while acknowledging Clifford's intentions, offers the following criticism:

> . . . I appreciated his efforts to expand the travel/theoretical frontier so that it might be more inclusive, even as I considered that to answer the questions he poses is to propose a deconstruction on the conventional sense of travel, and put alongside it or in its place a theory of the journey that would expose the extent to which holding on to the concept of "travel" as we know it is also a way to hold on to imperialism. (hooks 1992, p. 343)

She continues:

> Listening to Clifford "playfully" evoke a sense of travel, I felt such an evocation would always make it difficult for there to be recognition of an experience to travel that is not about play but is an encounter with terrorism. And it is crucial that we recognize that the hegemony of one experience of travel can make it impossible to articulate another experience and be heard. From certain standpoints, to travel is to encounter the terrorizing force of white supremacy. (pp. 343–44)

While Clifford has insisted on including the experience of travel in ethnography so as to prevent the suppression or repression of the distancing event, and has then taken physical travel as a metaphor central to the methodology he is proposing, hooks calls into question both the experience and concept of travel from her perspective as a black woman (p. 344). I find it hard to read both accounts without asking myself questions about my own experience of travel, my assumptions about others' experiences from and to similar and different origins and destinations, and the concepts of distance, travel, and status in a metaphorical and theoretical sense. For example, how "far" from my own academic culture is that of the historian, ethnographer, psychologist? Where does the history of these modes of inquiry intersect with my own? How "displaced" do I feel in encountering them? In my efforts to overcome my own disorientation, do I obliterate the individuality of their concerns, achievements, and hardships?

Sometimes (although not in the passages I have cited) the vocabulary of theory is difficult. "How do they expect me to learn the second language of poststructuralism," I object, "if I can't get any comprehensible input?" But how do readers of another discipline's theory know if they are understanding the words in the way in which they are intended? In the same way, I would answer, as students of a foreign language acquire vocabulary: We (1) encounter a new word; (2) (a) assume/infer its meaning, (b) ask someone assumed to be more knowledgeable/look it up, or (c) ignore it; and (3) confirm, refine, or forget that meaning depending on subsequent experiences with the word. Thus it is conceivable that we might misuse a word consistently and without noticing it if other members of our own discipline ("discourse community") accepted our usage. This is another way of saying that we would have taken the word and used it in a context and with a meaning not originally (or in some previous instance) associated with it. The problem I am approaching here is that of appropriation of language and concept, if not of voice. And I want to suggest that it is related to the problem of stereotyping as both an ethical and a cognitive phenomenon, and thereby also to the heuristic value of theory.

Partly as a result of the success that theory has had in uncovering previously hidden forms of discrimination, stereotyping has a bad reputation. Many of us consider it one of our primary goals as foreign language educators to counter stereotypes of the culture(s) whose language(s) we are teaching. For example, as a teacher of German I may find it problematical to teach about the *Oktoberfest*. My students may expect me to include it, however, because they know it (and the associated stereotype of Germans

as *Lederhosen*-clad beer drinkers) and may have even been drawn to study German because of it. Do I then play upon it, to increase their interest, or consciously ignore it so as not to perpetuate it? Or is there a way to make students aware of their assumptions and the way they work, and then to encourage them to confront both these assumptions and the cultural data in a critical way? For theoretical and pedagogical reasons, I would argue for this third option (cf. Webber 1990; Roche and Webber 1995, pp. 16–45).

Because academics typically pride themselves on their sensitivity to "others" and their ability to avoid "unfairness," they may see stereotyping as a cardinal academic and personal sin. As the cultural scientist Hermann Bausinger says: "Stereotype is a scientific concept for an unscientific attitude" (1988, p. 161). hooks, too, having experienced the effects of stereotyping, emphasizes its perniciousness:

> Stereotypes, however inaccurate, are one form of representation. Like fictions, they are created to serve as substitutions, standing in for what is real. They are not there to tell it like it is but to invite and encourage pretense. They are a fantasy, a projection onto the Other that makes them less threatening. Stereotypes abound when there is distance. They are an invention, a pretense that one knows when the steps that would make real knowing possible cannot be taken—are not allowed. (p. 341)

The quotation, a complete paragraph, seems to turn on itself after the second sentence. The second part of the passage is unequivocally condemnatory, ascribing a combination of evil intentions and moral or psychological weakness to those who employ stereotypes. The first two sentences, however, if read on their own, sound relatively neutral in their use of terms reminiscent of my own description of how tropes work.

Bausinger, too, recognizes that stereotypes represent overgeneralizations, that they are resistant to change, and that they result from, and lead to desensitization in those who hold and propagate them. But, he continues (in my translation):

> The natural concentration on shortcomings should not cause us to forget what stereotypes accomplish. I emphasize three such "accomplishments":
>
> (1) Stereotypes originate (not always, but as a rule) from the overgeneralization of actual characteristics; one must therefore accord them a relative truth content.
>
> (2) Stereotypes order diffuse material and reduce complexity; therein lies an important function of [providing] orientation.
>
> (3) Stereotypes offer possibilities for identification through which new connections to reality can ensue; one can therefore assume a reality-constituting effect of stereotypes. (p. 161)

Like hooks, Bausinger identifies the narrative and figurative aspects of stereotyping: It tells stories that are related, but not adequate, to that of which it tells. Where Bausinger perceives in fiction a hypothesis linking an explanation with that which needs to be explained—where, in other words, he imputes a heuristic function—hooks posits pretence, falsehood ,and distorting distance. The difference in evaluation is in part a difference between a cognitive and a cultural/ethical understanding of stereotyping. Where hooks puts the emphasis on an imputed voluntaristic etiology or, alternatively, on psychopathology the results of which are susceptible to moral criticism, Bausinger assumes that stereotypes arise almost of necessity, as part of the human need to construct meaning. Although he recognizes the potentially pernicious effects of stereotyping, he points out its relative value as well.

Bausinger's conception of stereotypes as images that result from the cognitive process of simplifying in order to understand is reminiscent of schema theory as proposed by cognitive anthropology. Schemata, according to Janet Dixon Keller, are "organizations of knowledge which (1) simplify experience, (2) facilitate inference, and (3) are potentially invoked by and constitutive of goals" (1992, p. 60). The concept of schemata is not new to foreign language education and figures prominently in current work on reading theory (Webber 1993). Like stereotyping, schematization channels interpretation, creating recognizable patterns but also influencing the perceived shape of the material that is to be interpreted.

The distortion, which is in part a loss of richness, in part an addition of features that are not there of themselves, rightfully calls forth hooks' criticism. The relationship between the viewer and the viewed is bidirectional. Phenomena are seen through a filter and domesticated and appropriated by the interpreter at the same time as the interpreter projects onto the phenomena aspects of her or his self. Bausinger's relative rehabilitation of stereotyping proceeds from the conviction that (to borrow from Kafka's story) "this is all we have." If hooks is right that stereotypes arise through distance, and if we take Bausinger and schema theory to be implying that we do not have a choice in arriving at inadequate interpretations—if

stereotyping, in other words, is an instance of and a metaphor for how we apprehend the world, for our inability to reduce difference and distance until they disappear—then it seems to me the real question is whether we can recognize the fact that this distance (error) exists and make it productive.

A disadvantage of this approach is that it admits defeat: It implies a kind of "law of diminishing returns," which builds in error. On the other hand, by making explicit the impossibility of attaining complete understanding, it may liberate us to do that which we can. But this in turn carries the danger of quietism and irresponsibility. In the conclusion of his book on *Interpretation Theory*, Ricoeur sums up his project as follows: ". . . I made a plea for a concept of productive distanciation, according to which the predicament of cultural distance would be transformed into an epistemological instrument" (1976, p. 89). Ricoeur recognizes the ethical problems, but does not shy away from the conclusion that all understanding is a form of appropriation: "To 'make one's own' what was previously 'foreign' remains the ultimate aim of all hermeneutics" (p. 91). He glosses his concept of "appropriation" as follows:

> Not the intention of the author, which is supposed to be hidden behind the text; not the historical situation common to the author and his original readers; not the expectations or feelings of these original readers; not even their understanding of themselves as historical and cultural phenomena. What has to be appropriated is the meaning of the text itself, conceived in a dynamic way as the direction of thought opened up by the text. (p. 92)

This "disclosure of a possible way of looking at things" is the "genuine referential power" of the text (p. 92). The possibility of "disclosure" in the sense both of revelation and refusal to close off consideration in the face of knowledge that the "possible way" is incomplete and incompletable, is the function of theory.

Inherent in the study and teaching of foreign languages is the attempt to understand that which was previously "foreign." The foreignness is not only a function of the "other culture," which in any case is a multiplicity of discourses and communities. It also arises from the otherness of those doing the teaching, learning, administering. If foreign language education, then, appears made to reflect Ricoeur's sense of heuristic challenge, it can also only benefit from Ricoeur's hopes and admonitions. In this case, foreign language education would be an instance of a theoretical stance, but would also learn from the ideational content of this theory and others.

III. Theory as Stance and Content

I have been developing a metaphor that sets up "theorizing," "metaphorizing," "stereotyping," and "schematizing" as more or less similar processes for making sense of something we originally hold to be different from, other than, or outside ourselves. None of the terms in quotation marks, nor the sense of metaphor to which they contribute, has any pretence of being a "master metaphor." It is perhaps a sign of my own need to simplify and order, however, that I see similarities in concern and stance in a number of metaphors and theoretical approaches. For example, issues of: (1) space and territoriality; (2) colonialization and imperialism; (3) appropriation of resources and perspectives; (4) inclusion and exclusion; (5) travel (distance) and residence; (5) gendered viewing and self-image; (6) identity and alterity, and many more, pervade the practice of foreign language education, but also the theory of "other" disciplines. These are issues for theory, but they are also issues about how theory is and should be constituted.

Rational Thinking

Two examples may suffice to illustrate the risks, but also the potential, of attempting to put theories into relationship with each other without implicitly or explicitly assuming or constituting a "master discourse" or "master theory." By mentioning them (and unfortunately it will not be much more than a mention) here I want to acknowledge their insightful power and influence, but also to expose (for better or worse) how I go about understanding them. The two examples are Edward Said's concept of "Orientalism" (Said 1978) and Laura Mulvey's development of the notion of the "male gaze" (Mulvey [1975] 1989).

Said analyzes the history, structure, and presence of the "created body of theory and practice" that characterizes the attitudes and actions of the "West" to the "Orient" (p. 6). Central to his analysis is a consideration of power relationships, by which the West asserts and maintains "hegemony" over the Orient:

> It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and strength I have been speaking about so far. Orientalism is never far from what Denys Hay has called the idea of Europe, . . . a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans as against all "those" non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European iden-

> tity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures. (p. 7)

The argument of this introductory portion of Said's work (and it should go without saying that I cannot do justice to his argument in its specificity and richness) is that the viewer (Europe) has had a hand in shaping the culture of the Orient. The colonial master views that which it has helped to create in ways that confirm and reinforce its own self-imputed superiority. It thereby not only distorts the cultures it is interpreting, but imposes boundary lines of inclusion and exclusion that say more about its own desires and weaknesses than they do about the phenomena they purport to demarcate and define.

My own reaction to this analysis is that Orientalism as Said defines it is a specific form of stereotyping that reflects both (1) hooks' notion of distance-as-distortion leading to discrimination, and (2) Bausinger's association of stereotyping with identity-formation. Indeed, James Clifford's discussion of Said's book identifies the strategies by which Orientalism seeks "to *dichotomize* the human continuum into we-they contrasts and to *essentialize* the resultant 'other'. . ." (1988, p. 258). Dichotomizing and essentializing are two of the principal mechanisms by which stereotyping operates.

Laura Mulvey's influential essay on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" also discusses a particular cultural and historical constellation that gave rise to a particular kind of film. Using a psychoanalytic approach that emphasizes the presence or absence of the phallus as a determinant in how men and women look at themselves and each other, she identifies two forms of pleasurable viewing:

> The first, scopophilic, arises from pleasure in using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight. The second, developed through narcissism and the constitution of the ego, comes from identification with the image seen. Thus, in film terms, one implies a separation of the erotic identity of the subject from the object on the screen (active scopophilia), the other demands identification of the ego with the object on the screen through the spectator's fascination with and recognition of his like. (p. 18)

Here, too, an observer who has given himself power over an observed affects both the way he sees the observed and the way she sees him and herself. He desires and fears, insists on difference and asserts sameness. There are similarities to the discriminatory and identifying aspects of stereotyping, but also to the phenomenon of Orientalism.

Is the Orient of Orientalism the "female object" as seen by the "male subject" of Europe? In this case, Orientalism would be seen in terms of active and passive voyeurism. Or does the theft of woman's image as practiced in traditional narrative cinema (Mulvey, p. 26) somehow resemble the way in which a dominant Europe has insisted on identity-through-difference in its treatment of the Orient? In this case, the discourse of film would be explained with reference to Said's concept of Orientalism. If metaphor results when one phenomenon (the tenor) is seen in terms of another (the vehicle), then Said's and Mulvey's analyses can each function as vehicle and tenor for each other. And if stereotyping is conceived as a more general form of both of these approaches, we might be able to speak of a synecdochic relationship where the genus stands for the species and vice-versa.

Two aspects of Said's and Mulvey's analyses require commentary in this context. Each of these aspects partakes of the dual notion of theory (as rhetorical stance and as conceptual content) outlined in the introduction to this paper.

First, Said and Mulvey offer ways of seeing specific cultural and historical configurations in new and enriching ways, enriching also in the sense that, like all good theory, they make us want to change the way we behave. In the context of foreign language instruction, this first aspect means that we must reconsider how we look at the "other" as marked for gender and culture. This reconsideration extends, for example, to the selection of texts, the introduction and activation of vocabulary to talk about these texts, and the way in which the texts are treated in the course. At a higher level, in addition, foreign language directors, those they direct, and their students gain an opportunity to see that theory is not "just theoretical": that good theory has consequences for how we behave, and not just in the classroom. This lesson of relevance needs reinforcement within the profession and the student body alike.

Second, Said's and Mulvey's analyses are suggestive in a figurative sense in that they can function as vehicles in metaphors whose tenors come from other discourses. In other words, they bring into contiguity specific discourses, both revealing and creating intellectual relationships between, say, film theory or feminist theory and language teaching. At the same time, they underscore to teachers and students of language the power of language to create "ways of seeing" and raise questions about how these ways relate to each other. The last portion of this third section of my paper takes up these questions.

Contingency

To those who bring these co-existing theories into relationship with each other, the temptation and the task presents itself of ordering and understanding them in their contingency. One way to do this is to try to reduce complexity by finding commonalities of approach, without erasing or suppressing distinctive features and disagreements. At the least one should keep in mind the relationship of enrichment and impoverishment, identity and difference, that metaphor (*Gleichnis*), including the fiction of a master metaphor, entails. In looking at theory in history, women's studies, film studies, anthropology, and psychology, foreign language teachers and administrators run the risk of assuming that the former are (1) so far away from our own "daily" concerns that we cannot understand them; or (2) so undifferentiated and undifferentiable that we need not be attentive to their specificities. Just as we do not want our students to lose their own identities when they study another language and culture, but to augment and express this identity through the new medium while at the same time appreciating others for who they are, so we should not expect ourselves and our colleagues to become historians or anthropologists through the study of theory in these fields. Attaining cultural competence, like communicative competence, is meant to be enriching to what is already there, not substitute something else for it. The possibility of change as a result of a confrontation with something new is not the same as self-denial, nor is the danger of assuming one's own superiority the same as maintaining a healthy sense of where one comes from.

Because Culler (1992) offers such a clear and expert survey of individual disciplinary and interdisciplinary critical directions, I can afford to be more impressionistic in suggesting some of their commonalities and how they relate to each other. As explanations of, and prescriptions for, the ways in which we understand and interpret our world, contemporary theories tend to be situational, concerned with the standing and relative location of the interpreter and that which is to be interpreted. The self-awareness of interpreters means that they take into account the extent to which the image they have of the "other" is a self-image. Such self-reflexiveness has an ethical, social, and political component as well; interpreters should be cognizant of their own place and their own limits and interdependence on others. Being sensitive to others (including texts) is possible and likely only if we are sensitive to ourselves; but if we are sensitive only to ourselves, the other will be lost from our sight. Being aware of our place is not a prescription for quietism, although it does enjoin us to desist from

presumptuousness and the unprincipled exercise of power that is also a part of relationships. It also emphasizes the distance between ourselves and others, and keeps us mindful of the means and costs of traversing this distance. In various degrees, what I have been describing applies to, and is derived from, reception theory and reader-response criticism (Holub 1984), cultural studies (Clifford 1992, hooks 1992), and "new historicist" theory (Veeser 1994, pp. 14–18). But it is also connected to the concept of contingency, which has been the subject of at least two major monographs (Smith 1988, Rorty 1989).

Contingency has two seemingly contradictory implications. As I asked rhetorically in another context: "Does not contingency imply, at the same time that it rejects and renounces a claim to exclusive authority and validity, a second aspect: an interconnectedness of bordering, touching, tangential, affinal areas and perspectives that allows us to bring into contact . . . that which has been subjugated and segregated?" (Webber, forthcoming). Geertz evokes this dual nature of contingency without using the word itself:

> The concept of culture I espouse, and whose utility the essays below attempt to demonstrate, is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical. (1973, p. 5)

The metaphor of the web expresses both interconnectedness and suspension: the lack of a ground, a possibility to construe from a neutral, objective position. Contingency undermines claims of and to authority—it favors fictionality; but it also compels attention to the often bitterly real consequences of power relationships, including especially those which are intercultural.

Perhaps because of this, theory is Janus-faced, at once playful and humorless, sensitively solicitous of the "other" and narcissistic, and tender and aggressive. And as a result of all of these factors, it is recursive, reviewing itself constantly (and not infrequently repeating itself) in an effort to identify and thus neutralize the distance between interpreter and interpreted. De Man's conflation of "literary theory" and "theory" in general, upon which I remarked earlier somewhat sarcastically, is not without justification. The literary quality of theory is related to the narrative process of recounting that goes on in theoretical texts and to the "textualization" of

non-literary theories, especially anthropology (G. White 1992, pp. 40–41) and history. Dominick LaCapra's book *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (1983), with chapters on Ricoeur's theory of metaphor and Hayden White's tropological readings of history (White 1978), is both representative and extraordinary. White's *Metahistory* (1973) had a role in initiating recursive self-reflection on the discursive practices and assumptions of a number of fields, and, as a result of its own influential success, seems more readable today than when it first appeared. And because theoretical texts cannot be distinguished from the texts they attempt to discuss, we have bibliographies, dictionaries, lexica, anthologies, and primers that add another (and frequently very helpful) layer to the texture of intertextuality (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 1990; Marshall 1993; Payne 1993; Groden and Kreiswirth 1994). Finally, the bidirectionality of the tenor-vehicle relationship in these theories as they employ and examine metaphor means that contemporary theory is renouncing the strict separation of genres and fields that became codified over the last century, and is returning to an interdisciplinary discourse that has already had institutional consequences.

IV. The Daily Life of the Language Program Director: Theory and the Institution

So far my argument that language program directors should engage theory as both stance (the ability to make connections and distinctions) and content (specific ideas that lead to changes in curriculum; teacher preparation; and the selection, presentation, and interpretation of texts and other materials) has been rather abstract. But, to return to the language of Kafka's text on metaphors, the "theoretical" rationale for interdisciplinarity is one thing. The presence in language courses of teaching assistants from other disciplines would seem to be something else.

Theorists of contingency, however, might well object that to distinguish between "aesthetic" and "instrumental" motives, between "intrinsic" and "utilitarian" interests, would be to pretend that there is such a thing as a "non-interested" position (Smith 1989, pp. 30–34). The distinction, intended to claim for the one advancing it the advantage of "higher ground" that exists only where there is ground, is itself interested and rhetorical. It employs the same kind of rhetoric as those who seek to dismiss or belittle the study and teaching of language as inferior to the study and teaching of literature (or anthropology, history, women's studies . . .)

on the grounds that it is the instrumental, mechanical, nontheoretized and thus nonintellectual servant to other "real" academic fields. The irony is, if those proponents of "theory" who make this argument actually followed theory, they would have to admit that their argument lacks any theoretical basis. "They"—and I use quotation marks to indicate that I am constructing a fictive oppositional "other" in the service of my rhetoric—repeat too readily the double fiction of their own "theoretical" disinterestedness and the extra-theoreticality of foreign language education. This fiction accepts, creates, and reinforces the fiction that there is a difference in status and location between the fields and subfields. Unfortunately, just as theory is also practice, fiction is also power, and even those who have been relegated to a less prestigious and privileged position within the academy because of this and similar fictions may replicate it. In the final section of this chapter, also set in the reflection of Kafka's text on metaphors, I want to apply the metaphors I have been developing thus far so as to highlight their institutional consequences.

Underlying my whole paper has been the sense that metaphor is "seeing as," and that this stance can both reduce complexity and provide a liberating force to see things differently and act upon this insight. What happens if we now see foreign language education in terms of—or "as"—other disciplines? In the now widely accepted terminology originated by I. A. Richards, foreign language education would be the tenor, and the other term would be the vehicle of the metaphor (Ricoeur [1975] 1977, pp. 57, 80). My thesis is that in asking whether (1) language learning is a form of appropriating someone else's voice or colonizing territory; or (2) it is motivated by an attraction to an exotic "other," we are not only confronting theories from "other" disciplines, but that we are acting theoretically. Such questions lead us to ask others. For example: If learning a foreign language is a form of ethnological fieldwork, do we account for the journey—the distance, time, and stress—between cultures? Do we invite, encourage, enable, or even consider return visits and a reciprocal relationship between cultures? Such questions, derived from the theoretical approaches discussed in the second section of my paper, illustrate that "foreign" theories shed light on "our" enterprise of language teaching and learning. They also reflect back on theories of metaphor, allowing us to conceive of the relationship of tenor to vehicle: Is one ancillary or subordinate to the other? Is the relationship reversible, bidirectional, unidirectional? What is the relationship to each other of vehicles linked to a single tenor: Are they interchangeable; do they form a network; are there hierarchies among them?

To translate these last questions into an explicitly institutional framework: (1) If—as I would argue—we enrich our understanding of our own discipline by projecting onto it theories from others, do we at the same time subordinate ourselves to the fields from which we "take" meaning? (2) If—as I would also contend—foreign language education has been located traditionally at the fringes of the map of academe, does a different understanding of the relationship of "our" theory to those of more "central" disciplines also change our relative position? (3) If, on the basis of the academic and financial economies of the university, graduate students from anthropology and history and sociology and philosophy are assigned to teach language courses, how do these members (and the theories of their "originating" disciplines) interact with those of the "receiving" disciplines?

The answers to these questions depend in part on how we respond to two others: (4) What is it we seek to do in the teaching of language courses and why? and (5) What can we reasonably expect to accomplish in these courses? The "we" of these questions includes those teaching assistants and others for whom language program directors are professionally responsible.

Albert Valdman provides the springboard for some answers to these questions. In an article on "Authenticity, Variation, and Communication in the Foreign Language Classroom," he argues that it is unreasonable to expect that North American secondary and post-secondary students will be able to acquire "communicative skills matching those of educated adult native speakers" of the foreign language they are learning (1992, p. 79). Instead, he proposes the more modest goal of "communicative ability," to which he adds "metalinguistic" and "epilinguistic" learning—that is, the awareness that "'language is at the same time a part of reality, a shaper of reality, and a metaphor of reality'" and attitudes about language that help learners avoid stereotyping of other cultures (pp. 79–81). To note that Valdman relies primarily on pragmatic considerations is not to criticize him: His argument is no less theory-based for being utilitarian in this sense (cf. Smith 1988, pp. 125–34). But I think it is necessary to augment and complement his approach by a proposition that is no less utilitarian for being theoretical.

That proposition is that foreign language education is just as central to the overall goals of a liberal arts education as any other discipline. I take it as a primary purpose of a liberal arts education to help students develop their own cognitive and affective faculties, in modes we term (by way of a deceptive dichotomy) "receptive" and "productive." This means that, in

the first instance, we are not teaching subjects, but students; to be more precise: We teach students through the medium of subject matter. Teaching reading, for example, is not just a matter of putting texts in front of students. It should proceed from a sense of an overall goal and it should take into account both recently developed knowledge about how human beings process texts and the needs and interests of individual students (Webber 1993). If we really practice what we preach, we will understand that foreign language education is necessarily intercultural and interdisciplinary. And this means that the confrontation with "foreign" theories and perspectives is an integral part of what we do. This confrontation may take place in the classroom, as we attempt to explain things in terms of a student's "home" discipline or as they explain them to us. Or it may occur through interactions with graduate students who wish to make a connection between their course work and research on the one hand, and their teaching in foreign language courses on the other. Or it may also happen in conversations and negotiations with colleagues—perhaps in the context of "foreign languages across the curriculum" or in university committees, or just in collegial conversations.

Language program directors find themselves in a key position in this regard. Just as foreign language departments in general are traditionally misunderstood (and maligned) within the academy, language program directors may find themselves undervalued within their departments. Some colleagues may be relieved that a language program director "frees" them from the "dirty work" so that they may pursue "their own" work; but instead of gratitude they may express condescension. A language program director who accepts and reproduces this attitude will feel inadequate to the task of "theory," since "theory" is precisely that which the other colleagues claim for themselves, leaving "practice" as a lower art to the language program director, teaching assistants and other "junior" colleagues.

One of the arguments of this paper, however, is that "theory" both explains and refutes this kind of dichotomizing. That is why the discursive structure of the first three sections is essential to the paper's argument. The language program director, like all of us, is acting within a theory or—more likely—theories. These theories may be specific to aspects of foreign language teaching and learning (for example: comprehensible input, the importance of schemata in reading) or they may be larger sets of suppositions about what teacher-trainers, teachers, and students should be doing. Just as we ask students to become aware of their assumptions about themselves and the "other" as they respond to a foreign culture and its language,

we need to reflect on those theories (ways of seeing, ways of establishing meaningful perspectives) within which we operate.

The goal is to recognize, articulate, and refine those theories and their interrelationships; and it does not really matter where one starts. Since completion of the project is impossible, one may feel freer to get on with it. Moreover, if theory is a way not of providing foolproof answers but of "'posing key dilemmas'" (Adelman 1984, p. 115), and if those dilemmas take shape by approaching discrepancies and differences in a way that can also establish meaningful similarities (and thus orientation), the language program director who interacts with "speakers of foreign theories" has a unique opportunity to pose those dilemmas to students, colleagues, teaching assistants, and herself or himself. But if my "theory" of bidirectionality is valid, the language program director can also articulate and communicate the concerns and theory of foreign language education to teaching assistants and colleagues from other disciplines and interdisciplines. This kind of networking creates knowledge at the same time it gains knowledgeable allies within an institution whose theoretical discourse is also a power structure. The language program director would thus function as an important thread in the web of contingent theories that help constitute the discourse of the academy.

How might one begin dealing with the consequences of such a self-understanding? One possibility would be the redesign of "teaching methods" courses (or course meetings in multisection courses) as interdisciplinary seminars. For example: graduate students participating in such courses might be asked to formulate and explore metaphors of foreign language education in which the vehicle comes from another discipline, subdiscipline, or interdiscipline; and then to reverse the process, conceiving of these other areas in terms of foreign language teaching or learning. Part of the work would be to read and discuss the theories that give rise to such metaphors, but it would also be interesting to pursue similar strategies with students enrolled in language classes and to reflect on similarities and differences in their responses.

In the areas of textbook development and syllabus design, theory as stance and content can also lead to a number of changes. As Valdman suggests, we must consider why we are teaching our students before we determine what we are teaching them and how. If we wish to put more emphasis on higher level analytical and organizational skills, theory will necessarily play a double role. Beginning at the intermediate level, students should be exposed to theory as a discourse type, as well as to theory as a

way of asking questions. For example, I have used the original German version of Bausinger's discussion of stereotypes (quoted above) with advanced undergraduates. As a text in its own right, the excerpt is susceptible to the same kinds of analysis and discussion as any other text. At the same time, the nature of its argument and its vocabulary mark it as a particular kind of text. And Bausinger's own analysis provides a linguistic and conceptual instrumentarium that allows the students to deal with other (linguistic, cultural) issues that arise in foreign language education.

Conclusion

One of the major thrusts of contemporary (and theory-based) approaches to foreign language education is to re-intellectualize the field. This will benefit our students, but it is also helpful politically (in our relations with other disciplines and subdisciplines) and psychologically (for the sake of our own self-esteem and continuing—or renewed—delight in the field). By following theory—the first interlocutor in Kafka's short text notwithstanding—we will not be transformed into theory and thereby delivered from the cares of daily exertion. We may be able to deal with those cares better, however, and thereby experience pleasure along with aggravation. To switch my reference in Kafka from the short text on metaphors to the *Metamorphosis:* In waking up to theory we are not being transformed into something new, nor is something "strange" being imposed on us. The truth is that the theory was always there, in us and around us. We may need some alienation and distance to recognize it, but once we do, we see that it was always accessible and that the alienation is part of our identity. It is that which allows us to change and to effect change. And that is the real potential of theory.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Claire Kramsch as well as to the readers of the manuscript for their suggestions on how to improve it.

2. Viele beklagen sich, daß die Worte der Weisen immer wieder nur Gleichnisse seien, aber unverwendbar im täglichen Leben und nur dieses allein haben wir. Wenn der Weise sagt: "Gehe hinüber" so meint er nicht, daß man auf die andere Straßenseite hinüber gehn solle, was man immerhin noch leisten könnte, wenn das Ergebnis des Weges wert wäre, sondern er meint irgendein sagenhaftes Drüben, etwas was wir nicht kennen, was auch von ihm nicht näher zu beschreiben ist und was

uns also hier gar nichts helfen kann. Alle diese Gleichnisse wollen eigentlich nur sagen, daß das Unfaßbare unfaßbar ist und das haben wir gewußt. Aber das womit wir uns eigentlich jeden Tag abmühn, sind andere Dinge.

Darauf sagte einer: Warum wehrt Ihr Euch? Würdet Ihr den Gleichnissen folgen, dann wäret Ihr selbst Gleichnisse geworden und damit schon der täglichen Mühe frei.

Ein anderer sagte: Ich wette, daß auch das ein Gleichnis ist.

Der erste sagte: Du hast gewonnen.

Der zweite sagte: Aber leider nur im Gleichnis.

Der erste sagte: Nein, in Wirklichkeit; im Gleichnis hast Du verloren.

In the following translation of the full Kafka text, I attempt to reproduce its strange combination of understatement and complexity, colloquial and formal diction, laconic and breathless sentence structure.

Many lamented the fact that the words of the sages were over and over again only metaphors, but inapplicable in daily life, and this is all we have. When the sage says: "Go over there," then he doesn't mean that one should go over to the other side of the street, which one could in any case accomplish if the result were worth the journey, but he means some fabulous "Over There," something with which we're not familiar, that even he cannot designate more precisely and that in consequence cannot help us at all here. All these metaphors actually want to say only that the incomprehensible is incomprehensible, and that is something we knew. But the things on which we actually exhaust ourselves every day, those are other things.

Whereupon someone said: Why do you resist? If you followed the metaphors, you would have become metaphors yourselves and thereby freed yourselves from daily exertion.

Someone else said: I bet that that, too, is a metaphor.

The first one said: You've won.

The second one said: But unfortunately only in metaphor.

The first one said: No, in reality; in metaphor you have lost.

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Subjects-in-Process: Revisioning TA Development Through Psychoanalytic, Feminist, and Postcolonial Theory

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To the credit of those involved in foreign language pedagogy is the fact that the tradition of teaching and TA development has not remained static. As the oft-cited genealogy of foreign language teaching methodologies can attest, from the grammar translation methods of days of yore to the current emphasis on communicative competence, foreign language teachers have continually revised teaching practices in the attempt to increase the proficiency of their students. Few other disciplines have had the same vigilant concern for revising their teaching methodologies and for assessing the outcomes of their practices. As articles published in this series testify (e.g., Fox 1992), TA preparation programs seem also to be in a state of ongoing analysis and revision. Pons (1993) and Gorell and Cubillos (1993) find, for example, that the current preservice and inservice applied methods courses are much more geared to assisting TAs in meeting the immediate needs of the institution rather than preparing them for the future professoriate. Fox (1992) argues convincingly for the need to revise TA development programs to include greater focus on linguistics. Strong arguments can also be made for the need to extend TA development courses beyond the first year and to shift the focus, as Rankin (1994) and many others have suggested, from "methodology" courses to ones that focus on second language acquisition theory and applied linguistics. As these programs become more specialized in the direction of linguistics and pedagogy, my concern is that many of them will tend to inadvertently deepen the already unfortunate split that divides modern language departments into the categories of language on the one hand, and literature and

literary theory on the other, unless we can find meaningful ways to bridge these very interdependent aspects of our fields.

In this article, I would like to explore ways to recast TA development in the foreign languages through the lenses of certain directions in psychoanalytic, feminist, and postcolonial theory. These theoretical discourses can serve us well in that they provide structural models for an ongoing, self-critical, and productively destabilizing way of looking at approaches both to foreign language study and the process of teaching graduate students to teach. My hope is that these reflections will enable readers to see how theoretical bridgings of this sort can broaden the possibilities of foreign language study and the intellectual development of graduate students for this important task. These "border crossings" can, I believe, go a long way in transforming graduate programs and overcoming the illusory split between language and literature.

Split Subjects

As has been well documented in this series and in many other publications, a division of labor, a split, operates within language departments bestowing prestige on those who teach literature and literary theory, casting those who teach language, supervise TAs, and coordinate language programs as menial laborers. In general, one might say that this divide has operated in a very psychoanalytic way, splitting two absolutely essential aspects of one field into nonintegrated, often seemingly incommensurable entities. It is indeed quite ironic that, as foreign language departments reconstitute and rename themselves in the direction of cultural studies, they remain severed from perhaps the most fundamental conduit and constituent both of their disciplinary materials and of culture, namely language. This disregard of the relationship of culture and language is further evidenced by the fact that courses in cultural studies often use works in translation without explicitly thematizing the ideological implications of translation and the fundamental fact that the translation of texts involves the translation of cultures.[1] This is all the more ironic given the fact that the very theoretical models that form the basis of literary and cultural studies programs, such as feminism, psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, and postcolonial theory concern themselves centrally with issues of language and the translation of cultural differences.

Moving to the other side of the divide, however, things are not necessarily very different or much better. Serious thought and discussion needs to be devoted to how language programs and teacher training courses

themselves contribute to this illusory binarism by casting literature and literary theory as their own negative other. Making a statement of this sort in a series whose primary audience is composed of language program directors is, of course, a risky one. But, if we are committed to rethinking language studies and the role of preparing graduate students to teach within the context of graduate programs, we must ask ourselves some difficult questions that are seldom explicitly addressed and, perhaps even less frequently, publicly posed. For example, as I began to write this article, I asked myself—and others—the question as to why it is that many graduate students completing PhD programs shudder at the thought of getting an academic position that would limit them to teaching mainly lower division language courses. Is it that we simply have internalized language teaching as the contentless, diminished activity that it is perceived to be both in American society and in the academy? Or, might there be beyond the internalization of the stigma, some very real reasons that would justify this resistance? I would like to argue here that both aspects of this split need to be rethought if the "health" of foreign language programs is to be restored, and one place I believe this can be done is by thinking more critically and self-reflexively about the way we teach graduate students to teach.

Interrogating the Subject

In a newsletter column entitled "Memory, Desire, and Pleasure in the Classroom: *La Grande Mademoiselle*" written during her tenure as president of the MLA, Elaine Marks paid tribute at length and with obvious passion to the topic of teaching. As she states in that article, her professional responsibilities in the 1993–94 academic year as president of the MLA and chair of the department of French and Italian at the University of Wisconsin included an activity that had hitherto not been something she had paid much attention to: teaching teaching assistants in modern languages to teach. Indeed, at the fourth national TA training conference held outside of Chicago in the fall of 1993, Elaine Marks represented the MLA and addressed the topic of TA preparation in the foreign languages from the perspective of her home institution. In the newsletter column, Marks came down fairly hard on the manner in which TAs are taught to teach, while at the same time providing some very instructive insights about tendencies and limitations in current trends in TA training:

> . . . as chair of the Department of French and Italian at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and as president of the MLA, I have been

> called on to talk about many facets of our field, including one to which I had not previously paid much attention: teaching our graduate students who are teaching assistants to teach. This has become an important subfield within the modern languages and one that I think, based on the reading I have done, has sometimes developed in unfortunate directions, substituting methodology for linguistic, literary, and cultural content and drills and skills for the kind of understanding that might come from a greater awareness of the complexities of transferential relations, the affective and intellectual dimensions of language learning, and the pleasures of wordplay. (1993, p. 3)

Marks goes on to criticize TA preparation courses which, in her assessment, train TAs to teach "either by the most blatantly referential Berlitz method, a word assigned to an object, or by frenetically paced changes of trivial classroom 'activities'" (1993, p. 3). Positioning herself within the classic divide, Marks goes on to say that what she perceives as lacking in the manner in which TAs are taught to teach, is often compensated for by graduate studies in literature and linguistics "through which they [teaching assistants] discover, by example and by their own questioning, more imaginative and sophisticated styles of being language teachers" (1993, p. 3). While it may be quite disheartening and angering to language program directors to receive this sort of critique from the president of their own professional association, a person who herself admits to having little expertise in this area, and while one must raise serious questions as to whether the teaching that typically goes on in the literature and linguistics parts of graduate programs provides an "example" through which "more imaginative and sophisticated styles of being language teachers," can be "discovered," Marks does, I believe, point to some issues in TA preparation that are worth discussion and reconsideration. By emphasizing almost exclusively, for example, "proficiency," and the acquisition of "skills," by encouraging TAs to get their students to talk incessantly and to move every few minutes or so from one activity to the next, we have erased from TA development broader issues of language study that pertain to the intrasubjective and cross-cultural negotiations of identification and difference. By focusing TA training methodologies on skills and techniques that lead to a rather unreflective "acquisition" of language, we overlook the need to prepare TAs to see the foreign language classroom as a potentially productive site for the ongoing, discursive negotiation of difference both within individual subjects and indeed between them (Kramsch and von Hoene 1995).

This is not to say that issues of multiculturalism and diversity have been overlooked by those teaching languages and by language program directors. Textbooks are attempting to be more representative, and TA supervisors and TA training materials generally make some mention of changes in the ethnic and racial makeup of undergraduate students. But I do not think that we teach TAs to explicitly examine and call into question the way that our teaching practices reinforce ideologies about monolithic, static notions of subjectivity (Kramsch 1993b). The rich and complex dynamics of the constitution and destabilization of subjectivity through the study of foreign languages and the negotiation of difference are rarely reflected in the goals of our language programs or our course syllabi, and even less so in TA preparation programs. Students are asked to occupy a place of cultural and linguistic "otherness" that can have broad societal and personal consequences, but we rarely provide graduate students with the theoretical background that could prepare them to participate reflectively and responsibly in this process. It is far too easy to be a naive transmitter of culture, to enact an identity politics of role playing in the foreign language classroom as if an erasure of one's own subject position were possible or even desirable. The greater challenge seems to be to make available to TAs what we know about the meeting of cultures and the productive yet often anxiety provoking confrontation with difference. I would argue that programs that teach TAs to teach should include the explicit study of the many issues and layers involved in these complex processes of identity formation and displacement as they are developed in fields such as psychoanalysis, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory, among others.

Differentiating the Subject

I would like to take here the example of psychoanalytic theory as a discourse that can contribute to a rethinking of the negotiation of self and other, identity and difference, within the foreign language classroom and in the formal preparation of TAs. Traditionally, when we speak about "difference" in the foreign language classroom, we generally refer to differences between L1 and L2, and the differences between the "two" cultures attached to those two languages, usually based on a national, monolithic fiction. More recently, attention has been given to the diversity of the student population in the classroom and, at times, to the cultural plurality associated with the target country or countries being studied. This approach generally rests upon fairly benign notions of cultural understanding and respect for difference. Using the structural model of femi-

nism, Kramsch and von Hoene (1995) explore how this type of pluralism may not always lead to the self-reflexivity and self-revision necessary for bringing about shifts in the social response to difference. As Julia Kristeva states in her work, *Strangers to Ourselves*, "It is not simply—humanistically—a matter of our being able to accept the other, but of being in his place, and this means to imagine and make oneself other for oneself" (1991, p. 13). What is more often than not overlooked in the discussion of difference in the classroom is the notion of the irreducible divided subjectivity of individual learners and the concomitant need to understand one's own foreignness and the multiple and discursively shifting identifications that are always at play in the constitution of human subjectivity.[2]

In psychoanalytic theory individuals inhabit difference by their very nature as subjects, always divided or split between unconscious and conscious aspects of identity. It is the entrance of the subject into language that indicates for Freudian and post-Freudian psychoanalysis the demarcation of a foreign territory of sorts, the unconscious, which can subsequently only be experienced "in translation" by the conscious self. According to Kristeva (1991), it is how we live in that divided subjectivity that we are to varying degrees "strangers to ourselves." For Lacan, it is the passage through the mirror stage that is crucial to the formation of the subject, as the subject is constructed through identification with an image outside of itself. Through the identification with the mirror image, which can take the form of persons, language, or objects, the subject "misrecognizes" him/herself as whole and unfragmented and as separate from the other. For both Kristeva and Lacan, however, subjects are always in process, identifications shift and the self is continually reconstituted dialogically through the other in self and the other external to the self. As the feminist legal scholar Drucilla Cornell stated at a talk at the University of California, Berkeley in spring semester 1993, the mirror stage does not end but rather repeats itself throughout life, and the subject is revised in the ongoing process of the creation and displacement of identifications.

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Reconstituting the Subject Through Foreign Languages: The Case of Anna O.

If the self is constituted in language and transformed through the dialogical encounter with the other, one must ask what role a foreign language can play in destabilizing, altering, and perhaps reconstituting subjectivity. One of the most dramatic examples of the capacity of foreign languages to significantly enable the emergence of the other in self and to challenge identification with patriarchal language and culture is found in Breuer's case study of Anna O. (Breuer and Freud 1895). A discussion of this case study is presented here to illustrate some of the complex subjective and cultural variables that influence language learning and that language program directors might therefore wish to consider weaving more substantively into their preparation of TAs.

The case study of Anna O., the only one of the case studies on hysteria conducted by Breuer, tells of a twenty-one year old Viennese woman, Bertha Pappenheim, who, over the course of a year and a half, suffers a state of psychological dissociation in the process of caring for her sick and dying father.[3] In the course of her illness, Pappenheim manifested physical symptoms typically associated with the condition of hysteria as it was understood and studied in the nineteenth century, first in France by Charcot and then in Vienna by Freud: partial paralysis, vision abnormalities, intermittent deafness, and anorexia. One of the most curious symptoms is Pappenheim's use of foreign languages in the cathartic process of curing herself. Indeed, it is Pappenheim, who, using a foreign language, coins the expression "the talking cure" to describe psychoanalysis, thereby pointing to the centrality of speech in the psychoanalytic process.

According to the case study, the "deep-going functional disorganization of her [Pappenheim's] speech" (Breuer and Freud, p. 25), which was characterized by syntactic and morphological breakdown, led to a period of total aphasia. When Pappenheim, a native speaker of German, recovered, she could only speak in foreign tongues: "She spoke only in English —apparently, however, without knowing that she was doing so. . . . It was only some months later that I was able to convince her that she was talking in English. . . . At times when she was at her very best and most free, she talked French and Italian" (25). Over the course of approximately 14 months Pappenheim's treatment with Breuer took the form of cathartic verbalizations carried out in English, which ultimately led to the integration of the psychic split that had characterized her illness. At the end of the treatment, Breuer indicates that Pappenheim resumed the use of German. As both Hunter (1983) and Kaplan (1993) point out, it is not only Pappenheim who speaks in foreign tongues in this case. At the point where Pappenheim can no longer understand German, those around her are also forced to learn and practice the foreign code: "She now spoke only English and could not understand what was said to her in German. Those about her were obliged to talk to her in English; even the nurse learned to make

herself to some extent understood in this way" (Breuer and Freud, p. 26).

In her compelling article on this topic, Dianne Hunter links Pappenheim's "linguistic disruptions" to a refusal of culturally prescribed identity: "Speaking coherent German meant integration into a cultural identity Bertha Pappenheim wanted to reject. . . . Parts of Anna O. were alien to signification in her native tongue. . . . Rejecting the cultural identity offered her, she tried to translate herself into another idiom" (pp. 468, 474). Hunter discusses Pappenheim's breakdown as the result of the thwarting of intellectual and creative talents that could find no outlet in a society where women were denied access to universities and forced to stay home often to care for ailing fathers. Breuer's description of Pappenheim and the course of Pappenheim's later biography seem to corroborate this interpretation. Breuer begins the case study with remarks about Pappenheim's intellectual capacities: "She was markedly intelligent, with an astonishingly quick grasp of things and penetrating intuition. She possessed a powerful intellect that would have been capable of digesting solid mental pabulum and that stood in need of it—though without receiving it after she had left school. She had great poetic and imaginative gifts, which were under the control of a sharp and critical common sense" (p. 21). Anna O. is often cited as one of the few successful case studies. After recovering from her illness, Bertha Pappenheim went on to lead a highly productive and socially engaged life. She became a social worker and was the co-founder of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund*, the League of Jewish Women. Perhaps most importantly for our discussion here, Pappenheim continued to define herself through the crossing of linguistic and cultural borders.[4] As Hunter (1983) tells us, she lectured internationally on women's rights in England, Canada, and the United States. She traveled widely to Eastern Europe and the Middle East in her work to oppose the "white slave trade in which young girls were sold into prostitution" (Hunter, p. 479). She translated Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* into German and the memoirs of Glückel of Hameln (1646–1724) from Yiddish. Hunter's summary of Pappenheim's later life captures the many facets of Pappenheim's border crossings: "Throughout her life Pappenheim lived according to an international feminist ethic. 'Her vision transcended all borders.' Her facility with languages and her willingness to embody her ideas served her well in her role as world traveler and speech maker in the service of redressing international crimes against women and children" (pp. 478–79).

While the case study of Anna O. reveals the productive assumption of

subjectivity through the foreign, in many other instances, the confrontation with the other has negative implications. In discussing the topic of identity and displacement and how these processes are operative in foreign language learning, one also has to address the reluctance to confront otherness in self and beyond the self that may characterize many language learners in the United States. In her memoir *French Lessons*, Alice Kaplan (1993, p. 129) tells the humorous tale of a student who constantly ate in class, to resist, as Kaplan interprets it, the French "R." One can easily say that collectively, our national resistance to foreign languages, our desire to have them dissolve in the proverbial melting pot, and our paranoic imaginings of the invasion of foreignness from beyond our national borders, all speak to the fear and discomfort that many Americans encounter in the process of learning a foreign tongue. While Bertha Pappenheim may have embraced the reconstitution of identity through the medium of foreign languages, many language learners in the United States are more inclined to equate that endeavor with an uncomfortable degree of vulnerability and potential loss of self.

One could argue that the anxiety that emerges through the confrontation with difference is addressed by Krashen (1982), with his notion of the "affective filter"—a psycholinguistic description of the relationship of anxiety to second language acquisition. Most TAs would be familiar with this concept through their introduction to the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983) where emphasis is placed on "lowering" the affective filter to promote greater acquisition. I would argue, however, that we should put Krashen's theories in dialogue with other texts that address the confrontation with difference to challenge the "naturalness" of Krashen's own assumptions about the desirability of a low affective filter for the acquisition of a foreign language. Echoing in many ways the "safe" classroom characteristic of feminist pedagogy of the 70s and early 80s, and the "respect for difference" approach that would have us believe that we are all members of one happy family, Krashen overlooks the potential value of exploring the emotion of anxiety, seeing in it instead merely an obstacle to language acquisition. While I am not suggesting that we turn our language classrooms into psychoanalytic sessions, I do believe that the cross-cultural process of language study can and should involve critical reflection on the social construction of one's own identity, and that this dialogical process is rarely devoid of conflict or anxiety (Kramsch and von Hoene 1995). Juxtaposing theories such as Krashen's with texts from psychoanalysis and cross-cultural psychology within the framework of TA preparation would

expose TAs to various approaches and would enable them to work responsibly with students in their struggle with difference.

Revisioning the Subject of TA Development

In the following, I would like to propose topics for TA preparation that would cross the illusory divide between critical theory and language teaching and would aim to deal self-reflexively with difference and the relationship of self and other. Such an approach would be guided by a willingness to vigilantly examine and revise our own practices, methodologies, and assumptions, and to think more broadly and critically about issues that, while not always explicit, are always at stake within the foreign language classroom. My intention here is not to present an exhaustive or prescriptive list, but rather to pose some initial questions that can be further revised and expanded. Consistent with the theme of this article, the topics presented here are not discrete units with stable borders but ones that overlap and mutually inform one another. Because of their interrelatedness, they could be conceived of as aspects of a course whose goal it would be to explore the constitution of subjectivity through the study of foreign languages. Works cited are referenced in the bibliography of this paper.

1. One of the central premises of poststructuralist theory is that identity is constructed through language. What role then might a foreign language play in this process and in the reconstitution of identity? Here one might consider reading texts such as Breuer's case study of Anna O. and Alice Kaplan's *French Lessons*, which would provide a productive introduction to the topic of the constitution of subjectivity through foreign languages and culture. The latter text, a memoir written by a French professor at Duke University, discusses the constitution of subjectivity through the study of French language and culture and, in many respects, relates an experience with difference and identification that could be familiar to many language learners.

2. Perhaps one of the most intriguing, yet unexplored, dynamics of foreign language study is that of imitation and identification. The desire to identify with and to take in or "introject" the foreign culture can be seen, from a psychoanalytic point of view, as a means of consolidating identity. An important subtext, for example, in Kaplan's work is the identificatory role played by French language and culture in the author's process of integrating her father's death. French language and culture function, one could argue, as a locus of identification that provides a sense of cohesion for the narrator. Texts from psychoanalytic theory can enable TAs to understand the complex dynamics that motivate the desire to imitate and identify with speakers from another culture. One could put Kaplan's text in dialogue, for example, with essays by Freud that focus on the process of identification such as "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917) and *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921). René Girard's concept of mimetic desire (1978) could further illuminate the manner in which the desires and preferences expressed by a particular language and culture function as a model for students constructing an identity through the new idiom (Livingston 1992).

3. Foreign languages and cultures often present an encounter with difference that can be perceived more as a challenge to one's identity than as a desired locus of identification. In this regard, the foreign language classroom offers a unique opportunity for students and TAs to reflect upon and revise their own personal and cultural identifications (and often universalizing assumptions) in dialogue with the multiple differences that exist within the foreign language classroom itself. As Kramsch and von Hoene (1995) suggest, feminist theory, with its emphasis on difference both between and within subjects can provide a particularly appropriate theoretical framework for TAs to encourage the exploration of the multiple voices in the classroom. The writings of women of color have been central to the discussion of difference within feminist theory. The two anthologies, *This Bridge Called My Back* (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981) and *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras* (Anzaldúa 1990) as well as works by bell hooks (1984, 1989), Trinh Minh-ha (1989), and Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) can give language program directors a new way of thinking about difference and of incorporating that into their work with TAs.

4. The relationship of self and other and the response to difference comes to bear heavily on the foreign language classroom through the topic of nationalism. To what extent, one might ask, does the teaching of foreign languages reinforce or call into question the perpetuation of national fictions of self and other? Recent works on nationalism such as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), Homi Bhabha's *Nation and Narration* (1994a), and Julia Kristeva's *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991) and *Nations Without Nationalism* (1993) can help TAs develop a critical understanding of the notion of self and other as it is translated into national structures. Works such as Edward Said's *Orientalism*

(1979) and Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (1992) on the representation of self and other in the colonial discourse of travel literature could shed light on the complex dynamics at play in "traveling" to other cultures within the context of foreign language study. Contrasting the colonial construction of self and other with the dialogically based notion of "world-traveling" formulated by the feminist scholar María Lugones (1990) would enable TAs to understand these two fundamentally distinct approaches to difference. Language program directors, TAs, and students alike could thus be encouraged to question their response to the foreign culture: Are they Americanizing the foreign, do they feel "colonized" by it, or are they consciously attempting to foster a dialogue between the two?

5. What does the meeting of cultures imply in the foreign language classroom and how can we define this "third space" (Bhabha 1994b; Kramsch 1993a) that is created in the interstices of cultures? Here the notion of cultural "hybridity" (Bhabha 1994, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1995) taken from postcolonial theory could illuminate the way in which cultures operate dialogically within the classroom to form a new sense of cultural consciousness in learners. Having learned to see themselves through the eyes of another culture, language learners often feel both inside and outside their usual cultural frame of reference. Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa's work *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987), which describes living on the border between two cultures and the development of an intercultural consciousness, can enrich the TAs' understanding of this experience, although care would need to be taken not to equate reductively the difficulty of living as a Chicana in the Mexican American borderlands with the temporary, self-imposed marginality of the foreign language classroom.

6. How does the foreignness of sounds and phrasings of another language trigger emotions of fear or pleasure in the encounter with the other in ourselves? Here one might critically juxtapose Krashen's (1982) views on anxiety in language acquisition with works of psychoanalytic theory such as Kristeva's *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991) and *Powers of Horror* (1982), where anxiety and fear are not an affective filter to be "lowered," but, rather are explored for what they tell us about our response to difference and foreignness. One could also approach this topic from the opposite direction, namely the pleasure invoked by the foreign language. Roland Barthes' *The Pleasure of the Text* (1975) and Kristeva's *Desire in Language* (1980) would be appropriate readings in this regard.

7. The notion of "communicative competence" has come to be a generally accepted yet often unproblematized tenet of foreign language teaching in the United States. To what extent does the theory and practice of communicative competence in foreign language education enable students and teachers to reflect critically upon their own cultural assumptions and identifications? One might approach this topic by first exploring the origin and definitions of the term (Hymes 1972, 1987) and by comparing the appropriation of the concept for the teaching of foreign languages (Savignon 1972, 1983) on the one hand, and for social theory on the other (Habermas 1970, 1971). Putting the use of the term in foreign language pedagogy in dialogue with Habermas' more socially oriented definition might enable us to rethink the important role that the foreign language classroom might play in challenging social and cultural assumptions and identifications through the medium of language. As in the process of psychoanalysis, otherwise known as "the talking cure," the important role that language and self-reflexive dialogue can play in the process of social transformation could thus be more fully understood.

Recommendations of this sort raise, of course, several practical questions as to the feasibility—and perhaps desirability—of incorporating such topics into the TA methods course. Many departments put severe limits on formal TA preparation time and, even if they had the time, many language program directors may not be trained or interested in providing such a course. My point here is not to suggest that notions of identity and subjectivity replace second language acquisition issues usually discussed in TA development, but, rather, that they be put in a productive dialogue with these issues to see where we might rethink and revise current practices. One way of doing this might be to follow a model similar to the one described by Barnett and Cook (1992), where team teaching would be used to bring together the fields of foreign language study and critical theory. As frequently stated, many program directors have actually received their training in the area of literature and literary theory, and the bridgings may thus not be as difficult to construct as might be assumed at first glance. Another way of introducing some of these topics would be to consider using them as modules for independent study groups or individual projects over the course of a graduate student's teaching career.

While the focus here has been on TA development, language program directors also stand to gain tremendously by rethinking their own disciplinary and intellectual boundaries in dialogue with theoretical texts from psychoanalytic, feminist, and postcolonial theory. By demonstrating a willingness to revise their approaches to foreign language study through the encounter with theoretical discourses often erroneously viewed as belonging "to the other side," language program directors can model the type of intellectual border crossings necessary to overcoming the rigid divide that plagues modern language departments.

I would like to end this article with a border crossing tale of sorts from the superhighway. I currently subscribe to the two e-mail lists WIG-L (Women in German) and FLASC-L (Foreign Language Supervisors and Coordinators). In the process of writing this paper two important discussions were initiated virtually on the same day, one on the WIG-L list and the other on FLASC-L. As I went down the list, reading the messages, shifting back and forth between the two topics, I realized how related the two topics were and how the superhighway had inadvertently enabled me to move back and forth between two terrains, transgressing an artificially constructed border that had gained the quality of naturalness. On the WIG-L list, California's recently approved voter initiative, Proposition 187, which bars education and nonemergency health care to illegal immigrants, was being discussed, and questions were raised as to how participants at the upcoming MLA convention in San Diego could demonstrate to state officials their lack of support for this initiative. One of the responses came from an obvious supporter of Proposition 187 who, as a German American, felt that the list should be just as concerned with the injustices done to German Americans historically and at present. The debate that ensued was extremely productive: Teachers of foreign languages and literatures discussed, problematized, and rather honestly struggled with how to define their own identities, what was professionally important to them, and why Proposition 187 should or should not carry meaning specifically for people involved with teaching foreign languages and cultures. Here are two responses, both quoted with permission:

> As a teacher of a foreign language and culture and as a feminist, I have a strong sense of responsibility toward making my American classroom, my American university, my town, and my society as open toward other cultures, languages, and nations as humanly possible. I do this not because of a sense of German identity, but because I am a feminist, a humanist, and a teacher. (Jeannine Blackwell, University of Kentucky)

> I teach German, Swiss, Austrian, East German and Turkish cultures and literature and the German language. I am not an expert in all areas, but I attempt to be as thorough as possible. In so doing, I hope to help my students embrace other cultures (and not just one limited understanding of A German Culture.) But I especially hope they learn to explore the construction of their own culture[s]. (Ann Rider, Indiana State University)

On the FLASC-L list, a department chair was quoted as having told the language program director he was "too intelligent" to be directing a language program. Respondents expressed their outrage at the insult and their frustration with the standard stereotypes about language learning: "Language courses have no content," "literature and language are two separate issues," etc. I wished at that moment to bring together from across their respective borders the two lists, to reestablish the central role that the introduction to a foreign language and culture can play in our ability to deal humanely with difference and to understand the illusion of borders if we are only willing to call into question the presumed naturalness of our own assumptions.

Conclusion

A "subject-in-process" (Kristeva 1984)—whether it be an individual or a discipline—is one that is constantly involved in the process of unsettling and redrawing the boundaries between symbolic, conscious aspects of the self and unconscious aspects of subjectivity, what Kristeva calls the semiotic. In this article, I have tried to demonstrate that important theoretical underpinnings of second language acquisition have been left out of the way we go about guiding TAs to think about language teaching and learning. With the current focus on "proficiency" and functional "skills," affective and self-reflexive components have been repressed in the discourse of foreign language learning and TA preparation. By putting language study in dialogue with psychoanalytic, feminist, and postcolonial theory, TAs can develop a much greater sense of the broad personal and social implications of foreign language study.

Notes

I would like to thank Claire Kramsch, Sabrina Soracco, and the two anonymous readers of this paper for many useful comments they made on earlier drafts.

1. The complex and variegated problem of representing one's culture and experiences through the medium of a foreign, imperial language is taken up in postcolonial theory. See, for example, the section on language in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, edited by B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin, London: Routledge, 1995, 283–318. See also Gayatri Spivak's essay "The Politics of Translation" in her book, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*.
2. For a discussion of the distinction between difference and diversity, see Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. For a critical examination of the construction of difference in the foreign language classroom, see Kramsch (1993c), and Kramsch and von Hoene (1995).
3. Caring for ailing fathers was a common duty for daughters who, at that time, did not have access to university studies and were relegated to tasks in the home. See Hunter, 1983. For a fictional account of this type of caretaking with a rather radical outcome—the daughter poisons her father to gain her own freedom—see Arthur Schnitzler's play, *Der Ruf des Lebens*.
4. The critical analysis of the case study of Anna O. from the perspective of feminist theory reflects the productive border crossings and dialogical relationship that has characterized the field of psychoanalytic feminism over the past two decades.

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Part II

Educational Boundaries

Redefining the Boundaries of Foreign Language Literacy

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Literacy lies at the heart of education, being associated with learnedness and literary appreciation, as well as with reading and writing skills.[1] In the context of foreign language education, literacy has been a long-standing goal of academic language programs and is tied to a number of important issues in the profession, including the suitability of written texts as input for language acquisition (Krashen 1991, 1992); the use of texts as a source of social and cultural dialectic (Kramsch 1993); contributions of reading and writing to general learning (Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes 1991); and content- and discipline-based instruction (Krueger and Ryan 1993).[2]

In a recent address to the National Coalition of Foreign Language Organizations, Claire Kramsch (1995) identifies literacy as an important axis of difference in foreign language education. She argues that the traditional essayist brand of literacy emphasized in academia inevitably clashes with the legitimation of oral vernacular language forms in communicative teaching methods (p. 7). It is my contention that such a clash poses a significant obstacle to successful articulation in foreign language programs and that recent communicative and discourse-oriented approaches to language teaching call for a new view of literacy—one that extends beyond normative standards of reading and writing, and even beyond the practice of literary interpretation.

Scholars in disciplines such as rhetoric, composition, educational psychology, sociology, and cultural theory have recently critiqued mainstream notions of literacy and have contributed to new, socially based, conceptualizations of literacy (e.g., Baker and Luke 1991; Brandt 1990; Flower 1994; Gee 1990; Heath 1991; Lunsford et al. 1990; Street 1984). These educators challenge skill-based definitions of literacy focused on the ability

to read and write in ways commensurate with a prescriptive, normative standard. They question the notion of a monolithic, generalizable concept of literacy, and favor the idea of multiple literac*ies*—roughly defined as dynamic, socially and historically embedded practices of producing, using, and interpreting texts for variable purposes.

This chapter considers implications for foreign language teaching of this shift from a skill-based, normative standard to a multivalent social and cultural set of standards for literacy. I will first review key aspects of an expanded definition of literacy—one that goes beyond the basic ability to read and write and includes particular ways of thinking, valuing, and behaving that are essential to becoming communicatively competent in both the spoken and the written modes. I will then suggest what features of literacy apply to foreign language learning and the consequences these features have for classroom practice and the preparation of teaching assistants. Finally, I will look at the new tasks facing language program directors as they begin to explore the pragmatic implications of educating learners to become actively literate.[3] Because the primary goal of this chapter is to provoke thought about issues tied to foreign language literacy, examples of pedagogical activities will be offered more as illustrations of particular ways of thinking about foreign language teaching than as specific prescriptions for classroom practice.

Shifting Perspectives on Literacy

Traditional Views and Their Implications

Common notions of literacy center on the basic ability to read and write, with an accent on functionality.[4] Literacy also denotes, by way of its older adjectival cousin *literate*, familiarity with literature, and general learnedness. Most foreign language programs aim to develop students' competence in both these areas of literacy, focusing on basic ability in reading and writing predominantly in lower division courses, and on literary and cultural knowledge in upper division courses.

A "basic skills" conception of literacy (which has a long history in foreign language education) is text-based, rather than reader or writer based.[5] It implies instruction focused on correctness and convention (i.e., "the basics"—knowledge of standard norms of grammar, spelling, usage, and mechanics), and instruction in at least one privileged type of writing (usually the essay). It calls for the incorporation of "functional" exercises (e.g., reading classified ads, weather reports, timetables, signs, and menus, or filling out informational forms, writing business letters), as well as reading of stories and journalistic texts, but often more to provide practice in the use of different text types than to satisfy any real communicative purpose.[6] "Basic skills" literacy is taught with the assumption that mastery of normative textual forms will provide the necessary foundation for subsequent literary and cultural studies.

At the upper end of the curriculum, two additional strands of literacy come into play. One involves the transmission of cultural knowledge and the development of aesthetic appreciation, literary sensibility, and a cultivated spirit (through, for example, study of a particular literary canon). The other involves the development of textual analysis skills and critical thought. Thus, while "lower division" literacy is primarily text-based and linguistic in nature, "upper division" literacy is predominantly knowledge-based and cognitive. This shift in emphasis can contribute to the often discussed problems of articulation between lower division and upper division coursework (e.g., Barnett 1991; Schultz 1991b), an issue to which we will return later in this chapter.

The "basic skills," "learnedness," and "cognitive skills" views of literacy share a number of important limitations in the context of foreign language education. First, they reify literacy as an end product of instruction (i.e., a measurable outcome in terms of knowledge or skills). Consequently, they orient educators' efforts to defining boundary lines of acceptable normative standards and a search for what might constitute a minimum criterion level (i.e., the line that separates "literate" from "not literate"). How well must learners read and write to be considered functional? How many novels must one read, how many cultural "facts" must one absorb, to be deemed (culturally) literate? Which analytical skills are needed to become (cognitively) literate? These critical dividing lines, in the context of public demands for accountability, inevitably influence our instructional goals. We begin to orient our teaching to the criterion level so we can call our students literate and demonstrate achievement of stated program goals. But if we teach merely to the defining boundaries, our students will remain at the periphery of literacy.

Second, these definitions of literacy tend to exclude contextual factors. In viewing literacy as primarily an individual phenomenon—a private collection of abilities and knowledge—educators often disregard differences in the purposes, functions, and social value of literacy across cultural contexts. A good deal of research has shown that purposes for

reading and writing are neither individually autonomous nor universal in nature, but rather arise from particular social and cultural needs and expectations (e.g., Heath 1982, 1983; Scribner and Cole 1981; Street 1984). This is obviously significant in the context of foreign language education. For example, a student of Arabic needs to be keenly attuned to the subtle implications of shifts between standard and colloquial forms when writing personal letters, when reading the newspaper, or when listening to political speeches; in these contexts, his native English literacy conventions will be of limited value. Therefore, rather than view literacy as a single, generic, or readily-transferable ability, we must consider the question: In what particular context(s), and for what particular purposes, can one be considered literate?

Third, traditional views of literacy are largely incompatible with the goals of communicatively-oriented curricula. As Kramsch (1995) puts it, "Establishing spoken language and conversational competence as central to foreign language study constitutes a direct challenge to the exclusive monopoly of essayist literacy" (p. 7). On the one hand, we want our students to communicate effectively with different groups in a range of social contexts, using a variety of discourse gambits appropriately in different situations. On the other hand, we teach (and most importantly, test) a literate standard that requires adherence to prescribed usage. Moreover, this literate standard becomes increasingly reinforced and insisted upon as one progresses through the levels of language study. In sum, traditional notions of literacy are too narrow in scope to permit easy reconciliation of our goals and our practice.

Communicatively oriented language programs demand a new conception of literacy. The limitations outlined above indicate the need to go beyond text-based, knowledge-based, and skills-based notions of literacy if we are going to improve articulation and more effectively align our teaching with our goals. In moving toward a broader approach to literacy, one more capable of encompassing the full complexity of language use, we need to consider relevant work in social cognition and cultural theory.

Literacy as Social Practice

Sociocultural perspectives on language learning (e.g., Foley 1991; Lantolf 1994; Roy 1989; Wells 1994) commonly draw on the theories of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1962, 1978), who emphasized the social basis of language and thought. According to Vygotsky, a child's cultural development is actualized in two stages: first on a social, or interpsychological, level and later on an individual, or intrapsychological, level (1978, p. 57). Furthermore, as individuals come to master tools and signs (created by society) for their own personal uses, two things happen: (1) their behavior is transformed as they become full-fledged members of their culture; and (2) they modify their own environment and thereby collectively effect change in the sign systems of their culture. Thus, there are bidirectional influences linking individuals and society. One implication of Vygotsky's theory is that literate thought is not the personal, idiosyncratic property of an individual, but rather a phenomenon created by society and shared and changed by the members of that society.

If this is true, it leads to another implication related to the *acquisition* of literacy. That is the need for socialization or acculturation into the particular conventions of creating and interacting with texts that characterize a particular discourse community. Frank Smith (1988) discusses this process as "joining the literacy club," stressing the importance of apprenticeship and the learner's personal sense of group membership, which leads to a literate identity.

James Paul Gee (1990) argues along similar lines, asserting that the process of becoming literate means more than apprenticeship with texts—it means apprenticeship in particular ways of being:

> One does not learn to read texts of type X in way Y unless one has had experience in settings where texts of type X are read in way Y. These settings are various sorts of social institutions, like churches, banks, schools, government offices, or social groups with certain sorts of interests, like baseball cards, comic books, chess, politics, novels, or movies. One has to be socialized into a practice to learn to read texts of type X in way Y, a practice other people have already mastered. Since this is so, we can turn literacy on its head, so to speak, and refer crucially to the social institutions or social groups that have these practices, rather than to the practices themselves. When we do this, something odd happens: the practices of such social groups are never *just* literacy practices. They also involve ways of talking, interacting, thinking, valuing and believing. (p. 43)

Because literacy practices are always interwoven into larger social practices, Gee urges us to look beyond "reading and writing skills" and to explore what he calls *Discourses:* "integral combinations of sayings-doings-thinkings-feelings-valuings" (1990, p. xv). Gee cites differences between biker bars and yuppie bars, between a black schoolgirl's and a white schoolgirl's storytellings, as illustrations of different Discourses, pointing out that an

individual cannot be accepted as a full-fledged member of a group until he or she has mastered the relevant Discourse(s). But Discourses are manifested in subtle ways and do not lend themselves to explicit teaching, as suggested by Gee's discussion of the Discourse of school sharing time:

> The Discourse of school sharing time . . . demands certain ways of using language, certain ways of acting and interacting, and the display of certain values and attitudes. The teacher does not and could not overtly tell the children all the aspects that go into engaging appropriately in the sharing time Discourse. The teacher has a few overt rules (like 'talk about one important thing'), but doesn't, in fact, fully realize, that the sharing time use of language and its associated values are more closely related to *essay* writing (which none of the children can do yet) than to story telling in other contexts, like literature classes. At sharing time, the student is meant to *inform*, not *entertain*; the student is meant to construct a spoken 'text' something like a written one, not a performance. (Gee 1990, p. xvii)

Gee asserts that because all literacy practices are tied to particular Discourses, discussions of reading or writing need to be contextualized in terms of particulars. People don't read and write to engage in abstract processes; rather, they read and write particular texts of particular types, in particular ways, because they hold particular values:

> We read and write only within a Discourse, never outside all of them. One doesn't read a comic book the same way as a newspaper, nor a physics book the same way as a legal brief. And one can always read any one text in many ways, depending on the Discourse from within which one reads it. Literacy is always multiple: there are many *literacies*, each of which involves control of Discourses involving print. (p. xvii)

Gee concludes that the focus of literacy studies should not be on language, or reading and writing per se, but rather on *social practices* (p. 137).

The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire adds a critical dimension to the view of literacy as social practice. He argues that an important aspect of literacy is critical reflection on how language (cf. Gee's Discourses) shapes our representations of our experience and the world. Freire thus views literacy as an active process of social and political consciousness—one which permits critical examination of the existing social order (Freire 1974; Freire and Macedo 1987). This approach, as Walsh (1990) points out,

> makes possible an expansion of what it means to be literate beyond a functional capacity to read and to write. In other words, it fosters a reading of reality itself which goes beyond merely producing or reproducing the existing social relations and the "legitimate" knowledge which schools frame, but instead encourages learners to look at the world around them in critical ways . . . and to know that their actions and involvement can make a difference. (p. 18)

The views of Vygotsky, Smith, Gee, and Freire lead to a number of implications for foreign language teaching. First, if literacy is a social construct, both shaped by and shaping the members of a society, then we and our students can learn a great deal about the languages, cultures, and societies we study by attending to the particular sets of values reflected in the ways literacy is used in those societies. Second, if literacy acquisition requires socialization into new practices, beliefs, values, attitudes, ways of thinking, it also gives insights into the ways literate native speakers have been socialized into their respective societies. Thus, Kramsch (1989) asserts that literacy is a key step in the larger process of integrating language and culture in foreign language education (p. 249). If literacy in part constitutes our students' "ways of being," as Gee would argue, then those students who wholeheartedly engage in literacy practices particular to a language and culture will take significant steps toward becoming biliterate, bicultural thinkers. Third, the view that literacy is not a uniform, monolithic entity but a collection of social practices that operate within particular Discourses suggests that literacy needs to be developed through multiple experiences, in multiple contexts, with multiple text genres (both oral and written), for multiple purposes. Moreover, attention must be paid to the *relationships* among the particular text types, particular purposes, and particular ways of reading and writing in a given literacy practice. Finally, if literacy is not passive acceptance of discourse conventions but a process involving critical examination of how language can be used for purposes of social control as well as for purposes of social change, we need to encourage students to take an active, critical stance to the discourse conventions we teach them.

Integrating Perspectives: Defining Active Literacy

We have seen that in most foreign language programs literacy is conceived of primarily as a normative standard for reading and writing skills, cognitive skills, and literary learnedness. We have also seen a number of limitations of this prescriptive view, namely the reification of literacy as a measurable product, the isolation of literacy practices from social and

cultural contexts, and the incompatibility of a monolithic literacy norm with the goals of communicatively-oriented curricula.

In contrast, our examination of socially-based views illuminated different facets of literacy. From this perspective, literacy involves a good deal more than reading and writing: It is a form of social practice, interwoven into larger social practices, and developed through apprenticeship. Moreover, it is not just a receptive process of socialization into certain conventions of language use—it is an active process of critically evaluating those practices into which one is being socialized.

Socially based perspectives have been influential in stimulating recent efforts to redefine the boundaries of literacy across many academic disciplines, such as rhetoric and composition (e.g., Brandt 1990; Flower 1994; Flower et al. 1990), educational anthropology (e.g., Heath 1982, 1983, 1987, 1991), history (e.g., Graff 1979), psychology (e.g., Scribner and Cole 1981), educational psychology (e.g., Langer 1987a), sociolinguistics (e.g., Gee 1986, 1990; John-Steiner et al. 1994), educational sociology (e.g., Street 1984, 1993, 1994), among others. Although it would be misleading to suggest that these various strands of scholarship are fully harmonious, a new general characterization of literacy is nevertheless emerging from the interdisciplinary discussion. Literacy is viewed as both public and personal, both social and cognitive. It is construed as a dynamic process rather than as a static set of attributes. It is linguistically and culturally based, and involves the creation and interpretation of meaning. Flower (1994) summarizes the key vocabulary associated with this new description of literacy as follows:

> A conceptual pocket guide to the vocabulary of this new conversation . . . would include partially overlapping notions such as discourse communities, social practices, discourse conventions, and literacy events that would be, in turn, linked to discussions of situated cognition, constructive processes, strategic thinking, and rhetorical awareness. (p. 9)

One example of an attempt to integrate cognitive and social perspectives in both research and instruction is Langer's (1987b) sociocognitive model of literacy. Her model includes social practices and ways of thinking as well as reading and writing ability:

> . . . literacy can be thought of as a tool . . . . Literacy enables a thinking about language and about oral and written discourse, using language to extend meanings and knowledge about ideas and experiences. It leads to the spiraling change that comes about when people use their literacy skills to think, rethink, and reformulate their knowledge and their worlds. . . . This view of literacy is not text-based. It values both the reader and the discourse—and depends upon and fosters the kinds of metalinguistic and metacognitive abilities that are found in the most successful learners. (pp. 2–3)

Significantly, Langer does not limit literacy to acts of reading and writing. She argues that reading and writing can involve little literate thought (e.g., when students read only for informational content, write to fill out workbook pages, or translate without understanding and analysis), whereas a good deal of literate thought (and speech) may be involved in a discussion of an event, a film, or a work of art where no reading or writing is involved (1987b, p. 3). Literacy is thus associated with particular kinds of (culturally based) uses of language and thought, but these uses can be manifested in either written or oral form. Langer characterizes *literate thinking* as follows:

> Literate thinkers objectify the subject matter, making it opaque and malleable, thereby permitting self-conscious distinctions to be made between language structure, discourse meanings, and interpretations. (1987b, p. 3)

When we engage in literate thought, we engage in a sociocultural practice for, as Langer points out, "Literacy and cultural development are inextricably bound, and learning a new literacy (i.e., becoming biliterate) therefore requires one to become, in a sense, bicultural." (1987b, p. 8)

Our profession is now recognizing that literate thinking is a necessity if our students are to explore how meanings are expressed and understood in a different culture. Kramsch (1989) argues that

> If we take the interactional dimensions of language seriously, as well as the type of learning we can best further in school settings, we should not only provide authentic and simulated natural contexts of acquisition, but use the unique literate environment of the classroom to reflect consciously and explicitly on interaction processes in various social contexts . . . . (p. 248)

Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes (1991) urge foreign language educators "to rethink the literacy model [we] are now using because at worst it excludes and at best it denigrates the ultimate objective of literacy: the use of language to convey new ideas. The issue is not what knowledge to acquire, but rather what knowledge students can create with language." (p. 3) By

way of summary, I would like to propose a working definition for an expanded notion of literacy that could be applied to the context of foreign language education in order to circumvent some of the limitations inherent in narrower views of literacy. Because literacy is "about action, about the literate acts people perform every day" (Flower 1994, p. 20), I will label this notion "active literacy."

Active literacy is the use of socially, historically, and culturally situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through texts. It entails awareness of the relationships between discourse conventions and their contexts of use as well as critical reflection on those relationships. It is purpose-sensitive and variable across discourse communities and cultures, and it draws to various degrees on both spoken and written language, on cognitive abilities, and on established genres.

In less formal terms, active literacy includes more than the ability to read and write. It is about the making and taking of meaning—and a critical consciousness of the particular ways it is made and taken.

To contrast the notion of active literacy with the more conventional view that predominates in foreign language education, active literacy is not a product or universal set of measurable attributes. Rather, it is a social and cognitive process that is culturally embedded. Because active literacy takes sociocultural context into account, and involves consideration of cultural identity (Ferdman and Weber 1994; Reder 1994), it more adequately addresses the cross-cultural dimension of foreign language learning. Because active literacy includes both spoken and written language in its purview, and views these as partially overlapping rather than dichotomous, it acknowledges the holistic, unified nature of what has traditionally been treated separately as "reading," "writing," "speaking," and "listening" in foreign language pedagogy. Finally, because active literacy links language use, social practice, and reflective thought in acts of constructing and negotiating meaning, it is compatible with the goals of communicatively oriented curricula.

What does this expanded definition of literacy mean for foreign language education? In the remainder of the chapter, we will consider a number of themes that grow out of this definition of active literacy that have important implications for the way we teach, organize language programs, and educate the teaching assistants in our charge.

Active Literacy: Issues and Implications for Foreign Language Education

Linking the Social and the Textual, through the Personal

An important point, which follows from the social and cultural embeddedness of literacy, is that reading and writing always imply relationships—between reader and text, between author and text, between the reader's world and the author's world, between a text and other texts, among elements within a single text, between text language and text meaning, and so forth. Consequently, reading and writing involve much more than just knowing *language*. To illustrate, we will take a very ordinary, short, linguistically simple text. It is written on the back panel of a shampoo bottle, beneath the directions for use:

* NOT TESTED ON ANIMALS

The text is not a footnote, and the asterisk seems to be there for emphasis. This is the only text on the entire bottle that is written in capital letters, again, presumably for emphasis.

For someone living in the United States in the 1990s, the meaning of this statement seems quite clear and unambiguous. The protests of animal rights activists against laboratory testing of new chemical products on animals immediately come to mind, as do our attitudes towards those protests (be they liberal or conservative), and we interpret the message as "this is a 'politically correct' product: no animals were at risk or suffered harm in the development of this product." And (if our attitudes are liberal) a secondary message materializes: "You may use this product without guilt."

But is that the only interpretation possible? Certainly not. Someone who is unfamiliar with the animal rights movement might interpret the message from the standpoint of medical safety. The message might be "use at your own risk: this product has not yet been tested on animals." Still another interpretation, given the position of the text beneath the directions for use, could be: "This product may not be effective in improving the sheen of your dog's coat: it hasn't been tested on animals."

These latter interpretations may seem far-fetched, but they are precisely the kind of interpretations that readers can make when they are reading in a second language. The reason is not that they don't understand the words (although that obviously can and does happen), but rather that they either do not have, or are unable to access, the culturally appropriate contextual frame that the author presumed of his or her audience.

How do we make sense of texts we read? Essentially by constructing mental representations or "stories" based on what is in our mind and what we find in the text. For example, in reading the shampoo bottle text above, a reader's mental story might go something like "Starting in the 1970s some people demonstrated their concern about the treatment of laboratory animals. One way they showed their concern was by not buying products that required testing on animals before they could be sold to people. In order to reassure people that it was all right to buy their product, companies that didn't test their products on animals said so on their labels. This product says it was not tested on animals, so I don't need to worry whether any animals had to suffer mistreatment while this product was being developed. It's okay for me to buy this product." Of course, this is just one among many stories that could be told. Literary texts, in particular, lend themselves to rich and varied mental representations—and the imagined worlds that we create while reading literary texts can seem extraordinarily real (Iser 1980, p. 54).

The important point here is that the *meaning* of a text is not contained in the words on the page. The meaning is realized in the mind of the reader and is based on the *relationship* between a particular combination of words and the reader's knowledge, experience, and attitudes, all operating within a particular cultural context that, by establishing conventions, sets constraints on our interpretation. Of course, foreign language students often do not possess the relevant social and cultural background knowledge that would allow them to interpret a text in the same way as a native speaker might. But that does not invalidate their reading—it simply justifies the practice of comparing readings among classmates (and perhaps foreign peers) to become aware of the ways that culture, personal experience, and knowledge can influence textual interpretation. Students need to learn that reading is not a generic, monolithic, all-or-nothing affair (as implied in the accusatory teacher refrain "Either you read it or you didn't!"). As Iser (1980) points out, an interpretation can never be said to be definitive or complete: ". . . a second reading of a piece of literature often produces a different impression from the first . . . . On a second reading familiar occurrences now tend to appear in a new light and seem to be at times corrected, at times enriched." (pp. 55–56)

What we have said about reading applies to writing as well. When we write, we obviously rely on much more than our linguistic knowledge; we rely on our imagination, experience, knowledge of the world, knowledge of texts and textual conventions, understanding of our audience, and so

forth. Moreover, as we saw above, the texts we write never tell the "whole story"; we rely on our readers to make certain inferences, to understand references to things and events external to the text, to use their imagination, experience, and knowledge to make what we write meaningful. Because writing is a symbolic act, there is always a tacit "contractual agreement" (Tierney and LaZansky 1980) between author and reader. When the writer and reader operate out of different conventions or assumptions, the contract breaks down and comprehension can suffer. This obviously can happen when one reads foreign language texts, but it can happen in one's own language as well, whenever significant differences exist between writer and reader. Consider, for example, my daughter Maria's first written story, composed when she was four:

GHSTOPRV
NGSORV
HLIHGRW
CWHIGKN
!ILVPVO!

I didn't understand the story when she asked me to read it, so I asked her to read it to me. This is how it went:

> The G was very happy to see the H. The H was very happy to see the S and the S was very happy to see the T. The T was certainly happy to see the O, and the P was going on a picnic with the R. But the V was not very happy!
>
> The N was happy to see the G, and the S was very happy to see the O, and the O was certainly delighted to see the R, and the R was . . . But the V was not very happy!
>
> And the H was very delighted to see the L, and the L was very delighted to see the I. The H and the G were getting married and the R was surely happy to see the W. But the W was not very happy!
>
> And the C loved the W, and the H was certainly delighted to see the I. The G wanted to go play with the K, but the N wasn't very happy!
>
> I love you, exclamation point!

This is obviously a text whose full meaning is not contained in its graphic representation. Indeed, because of the unconventional nature of the writing, the story is uninterpretable to an adult without its accompanying oral

version.[7] On the other hand, *seeing* the writing is essential to an understanding of the story because relationships are represented graphically (e.g., the last letter of each line is "not very happy"—presumably because there are no letters after it to interact with). Consequently this is a story that could not be told without writing. Once I learned the conventions of the writing (which only took one line of the story) I had no trouble interpreting (if loosely) similar subsequent stories; I had learned *how* to read my daughter's texts. This is an admittedly extreme example, but it makes the point that while reading and writing are always socially-embedded activities (involving relationships, shared assumptions, learning of conventions, etc.), they are also intensely *personal* activities, involving imagination and, often, emotions. Texts can inspire us, frighten us, anger us, bring us to tears, make us laugh—in short, they make both real and vicarious experience available to us.

Acquiring a new language is thus an extraordinary opportunity for new learning—at both social and personal levels. When students learn to use a new language, they develop new ways of seeing and expressing meanings. They learn new ways to interpret and represent the world and human experience. In short, learners are transformed. We can facilitate this transformation primarily by engaging our students with foreign language texts. For example, reading, writing, singing, and chanting poetry can have powerful effects on learners' personal stance vis-à-vis the foreign language (Graham 1992; Kramsch 1993). Exploring students' interpretations and representations of events, notions, or literary themes in writing prior to reading related texts (Booth Olson 1984) can help learners to see cross-cultural differences in ways of narrativizing and viewing the world. Text summary activities (Kramsch and Nolden 1994) make students aware of the particularity of their individual acts of reading and writing, but can also reveal broad culture group differences when used in a cross-cultural setting. Finally, reading journals or double-entry, reading response notebooks (Zamel 1992) provide an opportunity for students to reflect on what they find most interesting, significant, or moving in their readings. Over time, learners can trace how their reflections evolve and become more complex.[8]

Literacy Socialization and Educational Cultures

As the previous discussion of social perspectives on literacy illustrated, literacy practices do not occur in a vacuum. They are purposeful, socially embedded, and therefore, laden with cultural values. Consequently, they assume forms and functions that vary across cultures and across time

(Ferdman and Weber 1994, p. 14). The implication is that neither language nor literacy can be acquired without being embedded and contextualized within a social and cultural matrix. A crucial question that immediately arises in the context of foreign language education is: In what social and cultural matrix are we embedding the literacy practices we use and teach? In other words, into whose literacy practices are we socializing our students: into those of American educational culture or those of the target culture, or both?

In the United States, for example, sociocognitively oriented recommendations for literacy pedagogy typically center on content-based collaborative learning activities, created and evaluated in part by the learners themselves, often supplemented by metalinguistic and metacognitive strategy training (e.g., Langer 1987b). Such practices have made significant inroads in American education (and therefore American foreign language education) over the last fifteen years. But we must not lose sight of the fact that these practices are eminently "American" in nature, reflecting national ideological influences (e.g., the value of personal initiative and independence balanced by cooperation; the importance of the individual (but socially mediated) voice; the acceptability of decentered authority; the merit of "scientific," task-analytic teaching methods, and so forth). These pedagogical and literacy practices are not necessarily ones that are socially sanctioned in the communities where the target language is spoken. One danger, then, in the wholesale application of pedagogical recommendations such as Langer's to *foreign* language education is reinforcing *American schooling traditions* (albeit in a language other than English) rather than exposing our students to new brands of literacy practices—ones that are appropriate to and embedded in a foreign cultural context.

I am not suggesting that we "de-Americanize" our pedagogy (which would be impossible in any event) or that we inculcate our students in doctrinaire fashion with a set of exclusively "foreign" literacy skills. What I am proposing is that we engage our students in critical reflection on literacy practices—both familiar and foreign. That is, to *compare and contrast* our American literacy and schooling practices with those integral to the foreign culture—to consider, side-by-side, different frames, different sets of underlying values and assumptions, different approaches to using written language (e.g., rhetoric, style), perhaps even different cognitive strategies. Because we deal with multiple nationalities and cultures (both native and foreign), we necessarily deal with multiple sets of literacy practices. What is crucial is that our students become intellectually engaged by try-

ing to sort out the relationships between particular literacy practices and the society and culture in which they are embedded.

Consider, as one example of a foreign literacy practice, the French *explication de texte*—a highly systematic approach to the reading and exegesis of texts and a prominent feature of French schooling. The written product of an *explication de texte* generally contains the following elements: (1) a situation of the text (its author, its historical and literary context); (2) a characterization of the text (its subject, its form or structure); (3) a detailed analysis of the text (including considerations of style, diction, structure, imagery, themes, etc.); and (4) a conclusion, summarizing the study (Dufau and D'Alelio 1967; Fol and Barrette 1991). The goal, according to a panel report at one of the French national competitive exams for teachers of English, is "to offer a critical understanding while refusing to proffer subjective moralising statements . . . . A text is never 'neutral' and the commentary is to reveal its flaws, its limits, its tone . . . ." (Becquelin 1989, pp.74–75, cited in Poirier. 1994, p. 47). Kaplan (1993), an American professor of French literature, notes the important influence of *explication de texte* on her reading, thinking, and teaching:

> Explication de texte gets more precious to me as I grow older with literature. I don't think it works the same way in English because Americans don't have the institution of explication de texte, the history and sense of ritual that gives the activity its charm and power. In French class we bend over the language, we caress it and we question it, and we come to understand. (Kaplan 1993, pp. 210–11)

Or consider the French national *baccalauréat* exams, in which students are given four hours to write a five page essay (including a thesis, antithesis, and synthesis) on an abstract topic, such as:

> Does knowledge inhibit the imagination? Is a coherent thought necessarily true? Can a work of art be considered immoral? Is passion compatible with wisdom?... Is reality always realistic? Can self-knowledge be sincere? How do you know that a problem is philosophical? (Riding 1994, p. A6)

Riding notes the profound societal consequences that such literacy practices have: "This cerebral and even ethereal approach to life's dilemmas in turn affects the way French society as a whole works, including politics and diplomacy. And perhaps here lies the secret to why the French and the 'Anglo Saxons,' as they call Americans and Britons, have so much trouble understanding each other." (p. A6)

What does this mean for the way we teach discourse types? Traditionally, teaching essayist literacy has been viewed as a way to train students in logical thinking, analysis, idea development, and generalization. As Flower (1994) points out, the traditional view holds that "teaching a given textual convention is justified by equating that convention with literate thinking." (p. 12) An active literacy approach suggests the need to go one step further: to critically examine the links between text convention, cultural context, and meaning in order to compare the ways that two languages and cultures impose structure on texts and how that structure is tied to particular expressions of meaning.

Foreign language programs are currently successful in teaching discourse types in two important respects: They expose students to texts representing a wide range of genres, and they provide opportunities for students to use certain foreign language genres in their own expression. What is missing is consideration of the signifying value of the genre of a given text in relation to its social, historical, and cultural situation and its communicative intent. On a practical level, an active literacy approach to teaching discourse types would involve first identifying a number of discourse types that are socially sanctioned (i.e., propagated in schooling) in the target culture. Some examples in French would be *dissertation, explication de texte, résumé,* and *commentaire composé.*[9] (These discourse types are commonly treated in third year courses, but they could be dealt with progressively over a multi-year sequence, beginning at the elementary level, to improve articulation.) The next step would be to familiarize students with the specific rules and structures these genres entail and, importantly, to give them repeated opportunities to practice using these discourse types, so they have direct and in-depth personal experience with them. The final, and crucial, step would be to engage students in reflection on their experiences using these discourse types (which would have become somewhat less "foreign" by this point), to compare and contrast them with analogous genres in their native culture (e.g., the five paragraph essay), and to explore the social and cultural values embodied in the two sets of literacy practices (e.g., the primary value of accumulation of factual evidence in American essays versus the primary value of cogent argumentation in French *dissertations*). In doing this, students would enter what Kramsch (1993) terms a "third place" of interculturality, where individual and social meanings can be considered in dialectical fashion.

The point, then, in attending to and practicing foreign language discourse types is not to attempt to turn our students into well socialized

pseudo native speakers. Rather, the goal is to provide students with the intellectual tools to uncover tacit relationships between language use, cultural conventions, and social power. As Heath (1991) suggests, awareness of cross-cultural differences in language use, habits of thinking, notions of space and time, gender relations, and valuations of written information can lead learners to the realization that the language and thinking skills valued in school are neither natural nor universal, but culturally conditioned, learned practices. This awareness is valuable, for "students who can participate in a range of opportunities for different types of learning . . . will have the chance to adapt their learning habits to future needs and conditions." (p. 21) In terms of communicative competence, exploration of discourse types can also help learners discover new possibilities for self-expression. As Cope and Kalantzis (1993) point out " . . . genre literacy teaching should not mean redoing model texts from the dominant culture 'in your own words,' but using a knowledge of genre and grammar to find one's voice, not within genres, but across, between and around genres." (p. 89)

From an "active literacy" perspective, then, language learning is not the acquisition of discrete, decontextualized skills, but an apprenticeship in new social practices—an encounter with new values, norms, and world views—partly through exposure to and experience with new literacy practices. Moreover, it involves a critique of that new set of practices as well as those within one's native culture. This apprenticeship will not always be a comfortable one. It involves, to some extent, acquiring a new identity that may conflict with one's initial enculturation and socialization (Gee 1990, p. 67). But it is in the confrontation of that conflict that real understanding of language and culture can begin.

Active Literacy and Language Learning: Linking the Four Skills

Literacy involves knowing how to capitalize on the interrelatedness of the four skills—speaking, listening, reading, and writing—to convey or to interpret communicative intent. In most foreign language program curricula, however, the four skills tend to be treated relatively independently. The separation of skills is rooted in beginning language courses, where activities tend to focus on one skill at a time. Such close containment of activities may be necessary at the beginning level because it breaks down the enormous endeavor of learning a new language into well-defined, manageable tasks. The problem comes when the separation of skills is perpetuated beyond its useful purpose (i.e., into the upper levels of the language program). Conversation courses are often aimed at "getting students to talk" (i.e., practicing the speaking skill) without incorporating systematic attention to oral and written modes, spoken genres, and the rhetorical patterns found within them, and so forth. Heidi Byrnes in a personal communication (1992), has argued that such courses are of limited value in developing high level speaking ability. Rather, she claimed, in the absence of extended experience abroad, students need massive doses of reading and writing in order to enter the upper ranges of oral proficiency. Writing courses generally do involve reading, but reading is often used to provide content (i.e., to model particular written styles and genres and/or to provide topic matter to write about). What is usually not undertaken is reflection on reading processes, on the interdependencies between reading and writing, and the implications for how students' writing might be interpreted differently by, say, a French reader versus an American reader (which can be easily done by means of electronic mail pen pal exchanges). And even more rare in writing courses is critical reflection on the social and ideological implications of the discourse forms that are modeled and practiced. Recently, much has been written on reading-writing relationships and how reading and writing can be integrated in the language classroom.[10] Greater instructional linkage of reading and writing promises to deepen learners' sense of their role as readers as they write, and of their role as writers (i.e., constructors of meaning) as they read—perceived roles that are important to the improvement of student writing (Kroll 1990b). And, as Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes contend, ". . . for the FL student who is an adult, the best hope for linking all four skills in input/output practice outside the classroom is by doing more reading and writing" (p. 79).

An overarching goal of literacy can bridge the traditional divisions among the four skills by focusing students' attention on the interactions between form, context, and function in their uses of language—whether they are speaking, listening, reading, or writing. Furthermore, a focus on literacy blurs the traditional division between skills and content: because language use itself becomes an object of reflection, it constitutes a source of intellectual content.

Active Literacy and the Status of Language Teaching

In this era of internationalization many educators argue that development of students' oral communication skills should be our primary goal, given the opportunities created by the global marketplace. This is a legitimate argument, as long as it is clear that effective oral communication often

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requires "literate" sensibilities about how the foreign language is used in particular settings, within various Discourses. Teaching language skills for social transactions is important, but this is not the only aspect of *communicative competence* as conceived originally by Hymes (1972), Savignon (1972), or Canale and Swain (1980). Communicative competence also includes the ability to make meaning within the boundaries of established genres and to reflect on these boundaries. Kramsch (1989) contends that communicative action without subsequent reflection does not serve social growth or conceptual development, for "the secondary socialization into a foreign culture can only happen via a metalinguistic awareness of the language and culture." (p. 248)

Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes (1991) argue that literacy should be the conscious goal of foreign language teaching in higher education (pp. 2–3). First, a focus on literacy is more appropriate to college students' cognitive abilities than a focus on just learning and using linguistic forms. Second, a literacy-based approach shifts emphasis from merely learning the language to using the language to learn—a distinction that clarifies the academic legitimacy of foreign language study (p. 29).

This second point is timely. The marginal status of foreign language teaching within the academy stems in large part from a general perception that communicative language teaching is "unacademic" because it is skills-based rather than discipline-based. According to this view, language teaching is remedial training, whose purpose is simply to provide the "nuts and bolts" needed for the real academic pursuits of literature, linguistics, or cultural studies—or to provide "breadth" in the academic programs of nonspecialists. In the current economic climate, rife with budget cuts, language programs are faced with the need to evaluate and articulate their academic value. Concern with literacy is one important element that distinguishes academic from non-academic language instruction. Literacy practices—that involve close analysis, discussion, and writing about texts as well as critical reflection on these processes—provide real intellectual substance to academic language programs, whether their content focus is language, literature, civilization, or linguistics.

The Role of the Language Program Director: Starting Points

Viewing the language program from the perspective of the acquisition of active literacy has important implications for language program directors, who set instructional goals, design curricula, and supervise teaching assistants. In developing an active literacy-based language program, program

directors must first identify departmental needs and goals. In conjunction with the other members of the department, they should think about: What are the specific goals that we have for our particular program, for our particular students? What kinds of literacy do we value? What do we expect our students to be able to do, at what levels, in the interpretation and production of written and spoken texts? Such questions are essential in shaping specific objectives that reflect departmental needs. If, for example, students need to be able to read and respond to routine business correspondence, this would become a component of the language program. If, as is the case in most academic institutions, students must ultimately be able to read literary texts and write critical analyses of those texts, then the skills involved in these tasks must be systematically taught and practiced. In each case, however, thought should be given to ways of sensitizing students to the social and cultural import of their practices (and to ways of rewarding them for their cross-cultural insight as well as for their linguistic performance.)

Success in setting and implementing goals is, of course, influenced by the particular assumptions, motivations, beliefs and attitudes of faculty and students (Kern 1995). To the greatest extent possible, these should be identified and brought to conscious awareness so that goals are appropriate and realistic, and their implementation is not unwittingly sabotaged. For example, Martin and Laurie (1993) found that many of their French students gave low ratings to literary study. This was not because the students didn't like literature (they said they did, and in fact they often read literary texts outside of class), but rather because (a) they were skeptical about the contribution of literary study to their overall language ability, and (b) they lacked confidence in their ability to analyze and discuss literary texts in a public forum. (p. 201) In this case, a program goal of "stimulating students' interest in reading literature" would miss the mark. More apt goals would be (1) to show students how extensive reading can contribute to all of their language skills; (2) to provide step-by-step instruction for analyzing literary and non-literary texts in a variety of ways; and (3) to pay systematic attention to the discourse genres of discussing and writing about many different types of texts. Similarly, mismatches in students' and teachers' conceptions of what reading and writing are about (Bartholomae and Petrosky 1986; Zamel 1992) or of what an assigned task involves (Flower 1990b; Kumaravadivelu 1991) can create frustration and short-circuit instructional goals.

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Issues of Curriculum and Articulation

A perennial issue in foreign language programs is the articulation between beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels of instruction. Most first year programs emphasize the vocabulary and structures of everyday communication. Consonant with this emphasis, the written texts found in most first-year textbooks are typical of those that one might encounter on a routine basis as a user of the language (e.g., advertisements, realia, short informational texts on topics of general interest) as well as a few short literary texts (poems or adaptations/excerpts of stories). Second year programs typically provide a review of structures presented in the first year and continue to provide ample opportunity and varied contexts for students to speak, but they often emphasize the goal of introducing students to longer and more challenging literary texts, in preparation for more advanced work in the language, which in most departments means literary analysis. It is at this second-year, intermediate level that students often experience frustration ("I spend hours reading this and I still can't understand it"), anxiety ("all of a sudden I feel like I don't know this language at all; maybe I shouldn't be in this class"), or anger ("why do we spend so much time talking about these texts—I just want to learn how to speak the language!"), which may engender an attitude of either helplessness or resentment.

Teachers may also experience frustration. Their students, who performed so well in the first year, are suddenly participating less, and more tentatively. Their writing is fine when it comes to writing about personal experiences or developing a narrative, but not when the assignment calls for an analysis or an argument.

Such changes can be explained by the shift from a primarily oral focus to an increased focus on literacy, when literacy instruction is based on an assumption that learners' ability to engage in literacy-based tasks will follow automatically from their mastery of forms and oral communicative ability in the language. Research suggests, however, that the ability to comprehend and produce the types of language found in certain written texts is *not* acquired as an automatic consequence of oral language abilities in either a native or a foreign language (Flower 1990a; Saville-Troike 1988; Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes 1991). Foreign language students need to *learn* to reflect on how the foreign language is used in particular contexts for particular effects, how to look beyond surface language structures for meaning, how to analyze texts to uncover cultural assumptions, and how to talk and write about their findings. It is the development of these kinds of abilities—rather than the bolstering of students' grammar knowledge or their oral skills—that will improve articulation between levels of language study.

The point, then, is to maintain an early communicative focus, but to inject literacy tasks from the very beginning. Rather than viewing reading and writing narrowly as "literary" activities useful primarily for more advanced courses, reading and writing can be treated as an integral part of real communicative interaction with others. For example, computer networks offer unprecedented opportunities for daily (written) contact with native speakers. Besides pen pal correspondence via electronic mail, students can engage in collaborative projects, such as comparing their readings of short texts with those of native speakers. Even beginners can engage in this kind of exchange by reflecting on their personal interpretations of single words (e.g., "liberté," "démocratie" or even concrete nouns like "maison"), noting the connotations and associations they evoke, and then comparing them to those of their foreign peers. The respective foreign responses, in turn, can be commented on by the native speaking group, and differences in understanding can be acknowledged and reciprocally explained. Such activities set the stage for intermediate level courses where literary texts can be explored for an even greater range of possible readings. Class members' readings of a literary text can be compared in writing (see, for example, Kramsch and Nolden 1994), then students can extend their inquiry beyond the walls of the classroom via electronic mail or newsgroup communication to multiple groups of foreign peers.[11]

Toward an Agenda for TA Preparation

In working with teaching assistants, the language program director must redefine the scope of TA development, thinking of ways to prepare TAs for their larger role as literacy experts, not just as language experts. Such preparation can be advantageous to TAs' future careers by extending the potential range of their teaching into areas beyond strictly language and literature courses (e.g., interdisciplinary humanities courses, translation courses, courses in cross-cultural literacy in international business, government, and so forth). In rethinking TA development in light of an active literacy orientation, the program director might begin by considering the following three tasks: (1) sensitizing TAs to some of the important issues tied to literacy; (2) providing sample materials and demonstrating how literacy activities can be sequenced and integrated into the curriculum; (3) broadening TAs' ideas about the significance of teaching language and literacy.

Regarding the first task, it is important to stress that literacy is involved in a wide range of language uses—not just in interpreting literary texts. Topics that might be included on the syllabus in a pedagogy seminar are:

1. The complex, multifaceted nature of understanding language: the influence of context—from the level of phonemic/graphemic recognition to global text interpretation; the roles of background knowledge and comprehension strategies; the roles of text characteristics and genre; levels of interpretation. One exercise that is particularly useful in this regard is to have each TA do a think aloud reading task with one of his or her students (see, for example, Færch and Kasper 1987; Kern 1994), and to analyze how the student went about making sense of the text. When the TAs come together to discuss their analyses they can see the variety of ways that students go about trying to understand a foreign language text.
2. The nature of writing in a foreign language: expressive as well as communicative functions; links between writing and thought; relationships between writers and readers; relationships among discourse conventions (L1 and L2); the role of formal accuracy. Again, it can be useful to have TAs interview their students about a particular text they have written to gain insight into what goes through their students' minds as they write: How do they interpret the assignment? How do they organize their thoughts? To what degree are they aware of conventions (either L1 or L2)? To what degree do they think about their audience and how their text will be read?, etc. Computers can also be used to track how students use lexical and grammatical reference tools as they write (e.g., Scott and New 1994).
3. The social and cultural embeddedness of all literacy practices: purposes and uses of literacy in the native culture (C1) and the target culture (C2); values attached to literacy in C1 and C2; similarities and differences in socially sanctioned literacy practices in C1 and C2; how textbook materials and the tasks that they include can be seen as cultural artifacts in themselves (Kramsch 1988).
4. The complex relationships among the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking: how reading supports writing, how writing supports reading, how both reading and writing can support speaking and listening abilities (e.g., Booth Olson 1984; Kramsch and Nolden 1994; Zamel 1992).

Concerning the second task—providing sample materials and showing TAs how to thematize and sequence literacy activities—the language program director should aim to demonstrate the importance of an awareness of types of language and types of situations, and the ability to link the two together in culturally appropriate ways. During the pedagogical seminar, TAs can examine texts from various sources to identify discourse types (canonical and noncanonical), language register (formal, colloquial), probable functional contexts (dissemination of information, ideological persuasion, aesthetic experience, etc.) and then discuss the relationships among these factors and the ways in which those relationships might contribute to the text's meaning. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television broadcasts, literary texts, movies, essays, personal and business letters, electronic mail and newsgroup messages, and transcriptions of interviews with native speakers are all rich sources of materials for this sort of activity. Other activities in which the program director can directly engage TAs can be found in Booth Olson (1984); Kramsch (1985, 1993); Nance (1994); Schultz (1991, 1994); Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes (1991).

The program director's third task—broadening TAs' perception of what language teaching is all about—is perhaps the most important. Many TAs come to us with a notion that language teaching is primarily drill instruction (most likely because that is what they remember from their own early foreign language learning experiences). We can show them that their role is much more significant than they may expect. As teachers of language and literacy, we are ultimately in the business of opening up to our students new signifying systems and all the power that goes with the mastery of multiple levels of symbols. This involves socializing students into new ways of thinking about meaning and communication. Consequently, as Gee (1990) points out in his description of the English teacher's complex role, language teaching is inevitably an ideological and political activity:

> The English teacher can cooperate in her own marginalization by seeing herself as 'a language teacher' with no connection to . . . social and political issues. Or she can accept the paradox of literacy as a form of interethnic communication which often involves conflicts of values and identities, and accept her role as one who socializes students into a world view that, given its power here and abroad, must be viewed critically, comparatively, and with a constant sense of the possibilities for change. Like it or not, the English teacher stands at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural and political issues of our time. (Gee 1990, pp. 67–68)

Teaching assistants—our future professoriate—need to realize that what they do goes far beyond transmitting facts about a foreign language. They must be conscious of their important roles as guides in cross-cultural exploration, as instigators of critical reflection about native and foreign discourses, and as models of active literate learners. In short, they need to realize that the true scope of their work is nothing short of *education*.

Conclusion

Literacy provides foreign language learners with more than language. It can provide cultural insight by opening access to the stories that people tell in other societies. Not just the explicit stories, but also the tacit, "unspoken" stories of the target culture that are found in metaphor and discourse and that underlie spoken and written texts. What stories do the French tell? How do their stories relate to those we Americans tell? What stories do the French tell *about themselves* to the Americans, and vice versa? Stories can be found everywhere in spoken and written texts, from official government statements to casual conversations, from advertisements to popular television programs to literary texts. Students' ability to "read" stories is essential to their communicative competence because, as Smith (1990) reminds us, our social interactions with others ultimately rely on the stories that we tell ourselves and that others tell us.

Literacy also leads to personal transformation. Becoming literate in another language involves to some extent restructuring our consciousness, breaking out of the set patterns reinforced by our particular ego and culture, establishing new connections, seeing the world in new ways. Developing active literacy in a foreign language involves coming to grips with different ways of signifying. And, as Alice Kaplan describes so well in her book *French Lessons*, through one's struggle to express oneself in a new language, one eventually begins to appropriate a small part of it for oneself, and to find a new, unanticipated voice.

An approach to literacy that problematizes texts—both oral and written—and fosters reflection on language use therefore provides the basis for not just language learning, but language education in general (McCarthy and Carter 1994). Knowledge of the foreign language linguistic system and functional ability in speaking, listening, reading, and writing are essential elements in the educational process, but it is through active literacy, through reflection on how that system is used for different purposes, in different contexts, and to different effects, that learners can come to see that languages are more than just codes to communicate pre-established meanings; they are unique ways of creating the very meanings we communicate (Berthoff 1986).

Academic foreign language programs must expand their operational definition of literacy beyond receptive text-based, knowledge-based, and skills-based notions to incorporate social practices, cognitive processes, and reflective thought. They must aim to create learning environments in which drawing inferences, identifying cultural assumptions, probing implications, and critically evaluating a wide variety of both written and spoken texts are commonplace and well-rewarded tasks. Only when learners possess the ability to understand how discourses are used in another society, and to reflect on how those uses of discourse both derive from and create cultural norms will they be prepared for the challenges associated with the increased internationalization of many aspects of our society.

Notes

1. I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to Claire Kramsch, Sally Sieloff Magnan, Jean Schultz, Janet Swaffar, Steve Thorne, and three anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

2. Although the term "literacy" is not commonly employed in foreign language pedagogical discourse, it felicitously conveys a broader scope than the terms "reading" and "writing" and thus permits a more unified discussion of relationships between readers, writers, texts, and language learning.

3. Rather than provide an exhaustive review of the voluminous research literature tied to literacy, reading, and writing, I will selectively highlight views that I believe to be of particular significance to foreign language teaching and yet that are not often discussed in the mainstream discourse of our profession. A number of excellent recent research reviews are available. For international perspectives on literacy, see d'Anglejan (1994); Grabe (1992); Hamilton et al (1994); Hayhoe and Parker (1992); Martin (1992). For reading, see Barnett (1989); Bernhardt (1991b); Carrell, Devine, and Eskey (1988); Grabe (1991); Swaffar and Bacon (1993); Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes (1991). For writing, see Gass and Magnan (1993); Kroll (1990a); and Schecter and Harklau (1992).

4. For an overview of the development of "functional literacy" in the United States, see Langer (1987a, 1–2).

5. The "basic skills" view of literacy is clearly reflected in the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines for reading and writing (ACTFL 1986), which deal largely with text characteristics rather than what learners actually do (see Bernhardt 1986 for reading; see Valdés et al. 1992 for writing).

6. de Castell and Luke (1988) signal the potential danger of relying heavily on "functional" literacy activities: "Often, the pursuit of an explicitly 'functional' literacy presents as legitimate educational knowledge information which is artificially simplified, linear, mechanistic, and essentially powerless" (p. 172).

7. It may be that children's writing is convention-bound in its own ways. Note the striking similarity between Maria's story and one reported by Wells (1981), told by a schoolgirl about her name Melanie:

   > One day there was a M and the M played with the e and the e played with the l and the l played with the a and the a played with n and the n played with the i and the i played with the e and the e played with nobody and the e was very sad (from Raban, forthcoming, cited in Wells 1981, p. 275).

8. Recommended resources for activity ideas for reading include Grellet (1981); Kramsch (1993); Meyer and Tetrault (1988); Omaggio Hadley (1993); Silberstein (1994); Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes (1991). For writing, see Hedge (1988); Parrot (1993); Shrum and Glisan (1994); White and Arndt (1991).

9. See, for example, Brunel, Plazolles, and Sellier (1967); Chassang and Senninger (1972); Gaillard and Launay (1975).

10. For theoretical insights into reading-writing relationships as well as practical ideas for linking reading and writing in the classroom, see Bélanger (1991); Bernhardt (1991a); Carson et al. (1990); Carson and Leki (1993); Dyson (1989); Eisterhold (1990); Freedle (1985); Hedgecock and Atkinson (1993); Kaufer and Waller (1985); Newkirk (1986); Pearson and Tierney (1984); Peterson (1989); Shanahan (1980); Stotsky (1984); Tierney et al. (1989); Tierney and Pearson (1983); Zamel (1992); Sternglass (1988).

11. Electronic communications offer considerable potential for exploring cross-cultural differences in text interpretation, as well as for communicative language use. While the real benefits to literacy and communicative competence are unclear at present, study of computer networks and language development is a rapidly expanding area of research.

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Poetics to Pedagogy: The Imagistic Power of Language

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Writing conveys meaning through language; the more sensitive we are to language, the more creative and profound is our reading experience. While writing encodes meaning in words and sentences, reading retrieves or reconstructs the meanings encoded in the words; both processes are mediated through linguistic signs. A judicious reader undergoes this process of mediation regularly, although often unknowingly, when perusing a written text, be it a story, a poem, a journalistic report, or even a rental contract. The words may narrate an event, make a statement, describe a condition, or express a feeling. The interpretation of the text, in turn, depends on what words are chosen and on how these words are put together. Successful reading, therefore, requires not only an ability to identify what each linguistic constituent, semantic entity, or grammatical unit, denotes in the immediate textual environment; it also needs a thorough understanding of how these constituents contrast with other possible choices available in the linguistic code.

Any attempt at literary interpretation must begin with an investigation of the grammar of the literary text, its structures and patterns, and their interrelationships. These linguistic features are in fact products of the natural grammar of the language, which needs to be analyzed explicitly if the meaning of the text is to be explained in all its complexity, not just intuited or described. Comprehension of the text is possible only with proper linguistic knowledge.

Linguistic analysis is a field in which literature students need just as much basic training as language students. For students of language, the ability to analyze texts is generally taken for granted, as language competency is essentially acquired through various stages of linguistic prepara-

tion. For students of literature, this ability is regarded as crucial, especially when the text under study is in a foreign language. In practice, however, especially in the field of Asian languages, linguistic knowledge is utilized not to analyze and interpret the text in the foreign language, but to translate the text into idiomatic English. Once that task is accomplished, the link to the original language is readily dismissed. Any further discussion of the text is usually conducted in English and based on the translation. Granted that translation is a specialized discipline requiring a high degree of competence in both languages, it is nevertheless quite different from interpretation. A translated text delivers only one interpretation of the original.[1] If the purpose of literary investigation, however, is to study the multiple voices of the text, these voices are more audible when the target text is dealt with in the target language.

Teaching a literary text in the original language is what we all strive for, but often with little success. The obvious constraints are (1) lack of suitable materials; (2) insufficient class time for both close textual reading and intensive literary probing; and (3) inadequate training of teachers, who often do not know how to conduct literary discussion and employ literary terminology in the target language. The students themselves may be socially functional in the language but still shy of literary sophistication. When a teacher lectures in the target language on structural patterns in a narrative or the use of trope in a poem, are the students linguistically advanced enough to follow the literary analysis? If required to address a Chinese text in the Chinese language, does a student's performance suffer because of linguistic inadequacy? It is often assumed that students are not able to think as critically, speak as eloquently, or write as convincingly in a foreign language as in their own. In fact, some teachers contend that literature can be effectively taught only in the language native to the students, while language endeavors are best relegated to a language class.

Such arguments are valid only if the teacher is linguistically ill-prepared and unwilling to experiment with pedagogical techniques that deal with a foreign language text *in the foreign language*. When critically aware of linguistic complexities, teachers can extend their knowledge and their teaching from glossing individual words and sentences to examining how words and sentences are organically structured to inscribe meaning in a text. If they impart this knowledge directly in the target language, students may not fully apprehend or appreciate the value of this linguistic analysis; it may be more accessible to students when delivered through a series of instructional exercises in the original language that reveal the underlying

linguistic features of the text. These exercises could evolve from the obvious to the more challenging.[2] They could begin with word definition and continue with lexical comparison, bringing to light the semantic ramifications in the choice of an attribute or the naming of an object in relation to the overall context. Or, they could begin with sentence parsing, showing how the grammar of the text relates to its thematic or stylistic effects. The adoption of a particular tense, the use of the subjunctive, the choice of direct or indirect speech forms, of simple or complex sentences, of the active or the passive voice, are all textual features that deserve careful probing because they might bear significantly on the reading of the literary text. Students may come up with different readings for the significance of these features, and that, in turn, could become a topic for classroom discussion.

Linguistic analysis may be regarded as retracing the creative process of writing. Students who participate in this retracing have an opportunity to vicariously experience the act of writing the text themselves; their understanding of its structure, themes, and language is often more profound and revealing than what can be achieved in the traditional lecture format. When viewed in a pedagogical context, literary investigation may be characterized as a linguistic analysis that helps "the learner [to] relate a piece of literary writing with his own experience of language" (Widdowson 1975, p. 116).[3]

In the following section, I demonstrate how a Chinese text can be taught through a variety of activities, each designed to concentrate on a specific aspect of the language as it relates to meaning.[4] In particular, the exercises aim to examine the imagistic power of the words that generate the rich poetic appeal of the composition. To most English speaking students, Chinese is more foreign than other foreign languages, such as French or Spanish. Its use of tones, its writing system in characters, and its lack of tense distinctions are some of the linguistic features that make Chinese particularly difficult for American students. Despite an increase in the representation of Chinese people, Chinese landscape, and Chinese objects in various media, the Chinese culture remains unfamiliar to many Americans. In a Chinese literature class, when examining a text, students can easily identify images or issues that are dissimilar to those in their own traditions. This contrastive recognition is, of course, crucial to their understanding of a Chinese text, but a more discriminating and informed comprehension is attainable only when the text is viewed within the context of its own culture and literature. The purposes of using linguistic exercises are

precisely to examine and delineate these cultural and literary characteristics by first scrutinizing the function of the language in the original, the language that forms the basic fabric of any literary composition.

The Chinese text that I have selected for illustration is an early fourteenth–century poem.[5] It is required reading for most Chinese high-school students and is often included as an apt selection for American students studying Chinese literature.[6] In five short lines with a total of twenty-eight characters, the poem depicts a rural scene at sunset with a lone traveler finding himself stranded at the edge of the world, weary and homesick. The above description, almost as long as the Chinese verse itself, accomplishes little in capturing the subtlety and emotional poignancy of the original. Below is the text given in both characters and romanization,[7] each line followed by a literal translation.[8]

枯藤、老樹、昏鴉
ku1 teng2, lao3 shu4, hun1 ya1
withered vines, old tree, dusk crows[9]

小橋、流水、人家
xiao3 qiao2, liu2 shui3, ren2jia1
small bridge, flowing water, people's houses

古道、西風、瘦馬
gu3 dao4, xi1 feng1, shou4 ma3
ancient road, west wind, thin horse

夕陽西下
xi2yang2 xi1 xia1
evening sun west set

斷腸人在天涯
duan4chang2 ren2 zai4 tian1ya2
broken-bowel person at heaven end

Essentially a series of picturesque images, the poem reads very much like a Japanese *haiku*, where the poetic pathos is invoked through the suggestive power of the words. The lines are short, two or three syllables per unit, and the language is refreshingly terse and simple. The images, mostly visual and static, are strung together in no apparent order, dotting a landscape that unfolds as the lines continue. The poem concludes with the presence of a "heart-broken person,"[10] and yet that person, just like the houses in line two, seems to form part of the scenery, which remains impersonal, void of any human interpretation or intervention. The poem

is untitled but is often referred to as a composition on the theme of "autumn thoughts." The following exercises are designed to investigate how these thoughts, or subjective consciousness, inspire and are expressed by this lyrical poem, which at first glance appears ever so simple and impersonal.

Exercise 1: Make a Picture

As the poem is rich in objects and images, the first means by which to begin a class discussion is to require students to draw pictures of the landscape as they imagine it in their initial reading.[11] Depending on the proficiency level of the students, a glossary in Chinese or in English may be provided beforehand.

To translate this picturesque poem into an actual drawing, a student must have a clear understanding of each word and phrase and be able to visualize how the objects referred to in the text are positioned in relation to each other. Even though the poem reads as if it follows a stream of consciousness, taking on any object that captures the poetic eye, the act of drawing forces a spatial reconstruction, however arbitrarily arrived at, one in which objects, such as the river and houses in line one, have to be precisely and squarely placed, either one before the other or next to each other. In other words, students have to choose a subjective stand, a perspective from which the autumn scene is viewed. The following are a few illustrations that I have gathered, with some modification of details for the present publication.[12] It is interesting to note that while the houses in all four pictures lie at the far end of the horizon, one drawing presents high-rise structures instead of the traditional V-shaped rooftop dwellings, an unexpected touch of modernism. Some pictures depict crows flying in the sky while others put them on treetops. The most intriguing interpretation is the fourth drawing in which there are two people, one by the tree and one literally "at heaven's end." The student who produced this picture explained the configuration by saying, in Chinese, that the figure in the foreground is the poet, who longs for the one travelling afar. In illustration three, humans are noticeably absent. This sketcher claimed that since the landscape unfolds before the eyes of the traveler, viz. those of the poet, human presence is implied by the perspective adopted for the drawing. The perspectives are indeed many in these pictures.[13] In the drawing with two figures, the reader is given a voyeuristic peek at a man gazing into the horizon. Is he looking toward or for the other person? A traveler, a friend, or a beloved? As students are asked to prepare illustrations at home, form-

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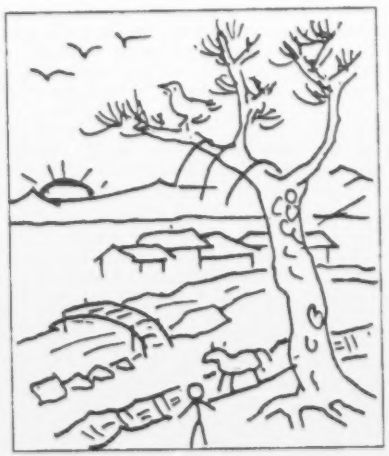
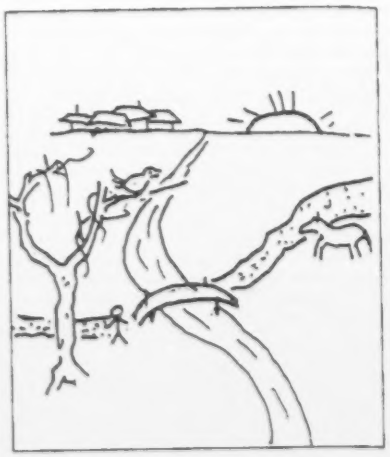
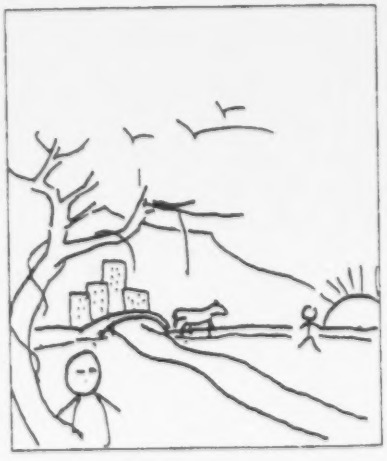


Picture 1



Picture 2

Picture 3



Picture 4

ing their initial impressions and perhaps preliminary interpretations of the poem prior to group interaction, a small portion of the class hour may be devoted to examining these pictures and exploring different possible readings. Each reading may be equally valid, but it may be also modified as the text is subject to close scrutiny, as will be done in the following exercises.

Exercise 2: Bingo

This exercise focuses on the first three lines, each of which contains three short expressions. The nine linguistic units present nine different images that detail the autumn landscape, a landscape from which the poet draws his inspiration. It is important that students fully comprehend the significance of these images and their linguistic representations. The first step of familiarization is a short exercise that requires memorization of the expressions. The game of bingo may be played with pictorial representations; while the teacher or a student calls out the Chinese terms from slips prepared beforehand, the students have to find the appropriate illustrations on their bingo cards. Or, the pictorial illustrations can be replaced with Chinese characters if students are familiar with the writing system. Without fail, the expressions become active vocabulary even after just a few rounds of bingo. A simple game of fun and excitement, bingo demands attention to the target words and familiarity with their sound representations. In the present case, active command of the poem's first three lines is necessary as the following discussion will focus on the formation, ordering, and function of these nine poetic units.

Exercise 3: Find a New Attribute

The first part of this exercise begins with the following question: What is one common grammatical feature that characterizes all nine expressions? Because of prior preparation at home, most students notice that every unit is made up of an attribute and a noun. Whether the attribute is an adjective or a verb, the expression is invariably a nominal compound and not in the structure of a verb-object or subject-predicate relationship. The pattern applies to all nine units, a linguistic uniformity that partially accounts for the static quality of the scenic depiction. In fact, most attributes in the three lines are descriptive terms, such as *lao* (old), *xiao* (small), *shou* (thin), etc. The only exception is *liu shui* (flowing water) in line two, where the attribute *liu* (flow) is, by part of speech, a verb. However, when we compare the expression with its reversed form, *shui liu* (water flows), where the

verb becomes the predicate announcing the movement of its subject *shui*, the difference in dynamics becomes self-evident. Whereas *shui liu*, a subject + verb expression, depicts a dynamic scene of a flowing river, the attributive structure *liu shui* seems to capture a single moment of streaming water and freeze it permanently on paper. The composition is a silent picture of still objects, each arrested in time.[14]

The second part of this exercise is to discuss the linguistic structure that underlies Chinese poetics, basic prosodic knowledge that students may have already learned from other classes but that they will find particularly useful in their appreciation of this poetic text. A verse line in Chinese generally consists of two or three units, each of which contains two syllables. Since Chinese is a monosyllabic language with each syllable constituting one semantic unit, a two-syllable compound contains two units of meaning and derives its conglomerate reading from both members. When an object is chosen as the focus of poetic attention, prosodic requirements dictate that the poet attach to the name of the object, a noun generally in one syllable, another word of modification so as to form a two-syllable prosodic unit. The deliberate choice of an attribute adds color to the object, most likely reflexive of the subjective thought of the poet. The selection of "thin" to describe a horse projects a very different picture from the choice of, say, "handsome." Indeed, the overall tone of the autumn thoughts in this particular text is decided not so much by the selection of objects as by the choice of attributes.

The third part of the exercise is to give students a list of all nine nouns but without their attributes, and ask them to find new modifiers, as many as they can for each noun. The following, in English translation, is a list of what students might generate:

a. vines: new vines, long vines, wild vines, spring vines, green vines, thick vines

b. tree: ancient tree, young tree, emerald tree, autumn tree, date tree, lonely tree

c. crow: old crow, black crow, crying crow, chattering crow, thin crow, dazed crow

d. bridge: big bridge, long bridge, wood bridge, bay bridge, crescent bridge, arched bridge

e. water: ocean water, green water, spring water, vast water, still water, dead water

f. house: peasant house, imperial house, a thousand houses, your house, other houses, everyone's house

g. road: big road, winding road, broad road, straight road, mountain road, level road

h. wind: east wind, west wind, cool wind, piercing wind, morning wind, sorrowful wind

i. horse: small horse, old horse, flying horse, handsome horse, white horse, multi-colored horse

Most of the attributes are simple words that students have learned, many from their first-year syllabus. The exercise first makes students review these words, some of which they may not have used for a long time due to lack of appropriate context (e.g., "imperial," "piercing," etc.). Secondly, it makes them aware of a grammatical rule in Chinese, which allows both adjectives and verbs to stand before a noun as modifiers without any explicit syntactic or morphological marking (cf. the use of *-ing* or *-ed* forms in English attributes, such as "flying," "multi-colored," etc.). Students may come up with combinations that are semantically possible but stylistically not acceptable in Chinese. For example, while both *fei ma* (fly - horse) and *pao ma* (run - horse) are combinations of a verb and a noun, only the former is considered a case of modification: flying horse. The latter is an idiomatic expression meaning either "to ride on a horse" or "horse race"; neither demonstrates the attributive usage. In fact, the exercise provides an opportune moment to expound upon Chinese morphology.

The main purpose of this exercise on attributes is, of course, to sharpen a student's sensitivity to the use of modifiers in the poem and to call attention to the impact that the original choices create as compared to their selections. Another possible exercise is to categorize the newly formed compounds into different groups representing positive, negative, and neutral qualities. At least six of the original nine attributes (withered, old, dusk, small, ancient, thin) fall under the negative category,[15] a rhetorical phenomenon that, even without much explanation, adequately accounts for the desolate mood pervading this autumn verse.

Exercise 4: Form a New Verse

This exercise may be considered a continuation of Exercise 3, an assign-

ment that has produced a great variety of new attributive compounds. Students are now asked to choose one new compound from each list and arrange the selections in the order followed by the original text. Here is an example of a new grouping:

新藤、綠樹、鳴鴉
寬橋、闊水、萬家
大道、東風、俊馬
Xin teng, lü shu, ming ya
Kuan qiao, kuo shui, wan jia
Da dao, dong feng, jun ma

New vines, green trees, chattering crows
A broad bridge, vast water, ten thousand houses
A great road, the east wind, a handsome horse

The same set of objects, now cast in a different mode of attribution, creates a dramatically different picture, a scene of excitement and hope. When shown this new verse, a Chinese literature student gave the following impression: The poem tells the story of a high-spirited young official riding on horseback en route to a new post in a populated city. In this new version of the poem, every poetic unit conjures up an image of new life, an auspicious beginning, a mood that is surely quite different from that of the original. The multiplicity of options available in the language and the imagistic power of diction become apparent in the course of rewriting the old verse with new attributes.

Exercise 5: Old Words in a New Scheme

This is the most important exercise in the series designed specifically for this poem. The first three lines in the text are written in a paratactic style, juxtaposing nine expressions, three in each line, in no apparent order or with any expression of their relations. Is the selection and combination an impromptu act, an arbitrary stroke of genius? Or, is the arrangement carefully orchestrated? The best way to test whether there is an underlying structural order is to ask students to rearrange the members in each group and compare the literary effects of the various groupings. The following is line two with one variation:

original: small bridge, flowing water, people's houses

variation: people's houses, flowing water, small bridge

One student said that by reshuffling the words he noticed for the first time that the objects were ordered to represent a progression of the subject's view of the surroundings: the layout extends from the close to the distant. In the original line, the eyes first see the bridge, then the river, and finally houses that lie on the opposite bank. In the revised version, however, the houses are closer, located in fact on the same side of the river as the spectator. The perception of the ordering of objects is implicitly coded into the illustrations that students produced in Exercise 1: All of them put the habitats beyond the river, far from the observing eye.

The same principle of progressive, directional observation underlies the sequence of the first line:

original: withered vines, an old tree, evening crows

variation: evening crows, withered vines, an old tree

As crows are generally found on trees or in the sky, the revised version represents a downward trajectory as the eye moves from an object atop the tree, then follows the vines downward until one sees the tree directly ahead: Ah, an old tree. The progression in this order, however, seems a bit awkward and unnatural since one does not usually notice things high above before perceiving what is directly in the line of vision. By comparison, the ordering of objects in the original line makes much more sense. It provides a view that moves in a logical upward direction: first noticing the vines that creep upward along the trunk of an old tree close by, and ultimately spotting the birds on the branches against an evening sky.

The third line follows the same principle, this time extending from the road afar to the thin horse by the traveler's side, and in between one feels the breeze of the west wind.

Now that the perceptual progression is evident in the sequencing of objects, our next task is to relate this perception to our understanding of the entire composition. As noted above, the poem presents a series of static images, a scene of stillness that is linguistically achieved through the choice of the attributive construction rather than the predicative structure. However, beneath that dreary surface of quietude is a constant movement of perception as the poet or the poetic subject looks upward in the first line, outward in the second line, and back to where he is in the third line.[16] The tranquil facade is indeed deceptive. One can imagine that, with his feet firmly planted to the ground beside the old tree where the weary horse stands, the observer is never resting. His gaze keeps moving. As his eyes look out a second time, he sees the setting sun afar; as his focus

again pulls back, he finds himself positioned this time against a horizon beyond human reach. In fact, the movement never stops throughout the entire piece, creating a constant fluctuation of emotional responses that is achieved through the formidable array of attributes chosen to sketch various objects. The tempo is fast, thus heightening the tension in the poem. The observation comes to an ironic end as, in the final line, the observer, the heart-broken traveler, becomes himself an object to be gazed upon. The objectification has been coded into the pictorial illustration with two figures in Exercise 2. But, who is this second person looking at him? A stranger, an enemy, or could it be his beloved looking back with longing? These speculations readily open a new area of discussion.

Exercise 6: Where Is the Action? Find the Verb.

It has long been noted by many critics that one of the most striking features of the poem is its obvious lack of verbs, especially verbs in their regular predicative role.[17] The purpose of this exercise is to alert students to this unusual practice in versification. Students are asked to list all the verbs in the text and decide whether they are predicative or attributive in function. The following is the list of the only verbs in the poem, three words in a total of twenty-eight, a scarcity whose significance students easily note as they begin their discussion.

liu (to flow), line two

xia (to descend), line four

zai (to be at), line five

As described above, *liu* in line two is attributive in usage and hence static by connotation. There are in fact only two predicative verbs, *xia* and *zai*, both in the second half of the composition. Of the two, *xia* is a motion verb and *zai* is merely a location marker. In other words, the entire composition hinges upon only one action, *xia*, the descent of the sun. Students may see that as the sun sets, hurrying the passage of time, everything, the landscape both far and near, will become shrouded in darkness, a negation of all existence. And, as one participant noted, in contrast to or against that impersonal and immutable rush of time, human existence is planted in stillness, as marked by the static verb *zai*, and is a presence that will also soon be swept away when the night falls. The poem ends on a note of profound despair.

Exercise 7: Where Does It Stop?

As the last line forms its predicate with the verb *zai*, noting the position of the traveler in relation to the horizon, we will now return to the first three lines and study the spatial relationship among the three objects in each line. Specifically, students are asked to discover a pattern by which the poet connects the first two objects in each line to the third member. In the first line, one's eyes follow the tree upward to its top where the crows perch. The second line ends with the image of houses located beyond the river, a rustic village inviting the traveler to rest at the end of the day. By comparing these two lines, students come to realize that the third member in each line represents animate beings and that the first two compounds describe shelters to which the beings, crows in line one and people in people's houses in line two, return for the night. The third line, ending with horse, seems to conform to the same pattern. However, as some students quickly pointed out, the horse is located on or near the road, perhaps resting temporarily but not in its stable. Does the road head home? Can one envision an ancient highway that extends into the distant horizon? Is this a journey that never ends, a journey in life as well as through the landscape? The evening now settles in and old age approaches. Following the pattern established in the previous line, the poem concludes with a locative expression: the end of the earth. This time, however, the location is beyond reach. The journey goes on and on, and does not stop until death comes, subsuming all. The sadness of a lone traveler, the longing for home and the fear of the unknown are all conveyed in a highly condensed form, these simple words and suggestive images.

Exercise 8: Rhythmic Speech

As students begin to develop an analytical understanding of the textual manipulation of language and images, our next task is to introduce them to other prosodic features of the composition. After all, a poem follows strict rules of prosody. There are three different assignments in this exercise, each concentrating on a specific prosodic feature.

The first assignment is to identify the rhyme, a fairly easy task that students can accomplish in just a few minutes. All five lines rhyme, and the rhyme words are *ya, jia, ma, xia, ya*. It is interesting that, even though the tones are different, the poem begins and ends with the same syllable *ya*, forming a rhyming cycle that reinforces the thematic pathos of entrapment, the feeling of finding oneself, after a temporary flight in thought,

physically immobile, rooted to the same spot in nature.

The next assignment deals with tone, the pitch contour of a Chinese syllable. There are four tones in modern Mandarin, here numerically labeled as 1, 2, 3, 4 after each syllable. Traditional poetics, however, identifies only two tonal categories: Tone A, which includes tones 1 and 2 in modern Mandarin; and Tone B, which encompasses tones 3 and 4. The tonal dichotomy is a complex and controversial issue that linguists and literary critics are still debating,[18] but poets have observed the prosodic requirement for centuries. As described above, a verse line can be divided into several units. The last syllable in each unit forms its tonal base. It is a common practice for units in the same line to be tonally antithetical. In other words, if the first unit ends with Tone A, the following unit should end with Tone B, and the next one should end again with Tone A. This tonal requirement can be easily demonstrated by comparing the original ordering with the new grouping of compounds as produced in Exercise 5. For example,

original:	*ku teng2,*	*lao shu4,*	*hun ya1*
	A	B	A
	withered vines,	an old tree,	evening crows
revised:	*hun ya1,*	*ku teng2,*	*lao shu4*
	A	A	B
	evening crows,	withered vines,	an old tree

In addition to its illogical thematic progression as observed above, the revised line also fails prosodically. With two members of Tone A in a row, the tonal requirement is violated.

The third assignment looks at the length of each verse line. It is evident that, except for the fourth line which has four syllables, all other lines are six syllables long. Although the length of each line is historically prescribed by a generic pattern, it is the manipulation of the set length and its poetic effect that students are asked to speculate upon. The first three lines are structured in the same mode, six syllables each line, divided into three units, two syllables per unit. The pattern gives a uniformity to the first half of the piece, a rhythmic flow that is nonetheless abruptly interrupted by the fourth line with only four syllables.[19] The short line, which tells of the quick approach of darkness, creates a structural imbalance and thus evokes

a sense of emotional disturbance. The sun sets at a pace so fast that only a short line can capture its hasty departure. The contrast in the first four lines leads one to anticipate the last line in which the balance is restored. Indeed, the fifth line returns to the normal length of six syllables. Or, does it? When confronted with this question, students will notice that while order seems to have returned, it is not quite the same as that of the old sequence: The last line actually is composed of only two units, three syllables each. The subtle deviation from an established pattern creates feelings of anxiety that further intensifies the overall mood of restlessness in the composition.

Exercise 9: A New Touch by an Eager Hand

At this point, the text has been studied from every possible structural and stylistic angle, concentrating on the use of language in creating an ambiance that directs a reader's expectation and interpretation of the poem. Next, the students' linguistic skills can be put to work. There are all kinds of projects that require students to actively participate in a writing assignment, exercises that review and practice the various literary techniques they have learned from the preceding activities. One of the exercises I have used and with good results is the following.

In Exercise 2, the bingo game is played by juggling the nine compound expressions. Since the expressions are already written on separate pieces of paper that are drawn to be read aloud during the game, the slips can be saved for the present exercise. Each student is asked to draw three slips from the pile of nine and use the compounds written on them as the base for a first dabbling in Chinese versification. Students can choose the order in which the three expressions are to be arranged, any sequence that appeals to their aesthetic sense. They then add a line of four syllables to the sequence, a continuation that elaborates or comments on the thought or sentiment in the base line and that rhymes with it as well. The following are some contributions from my students, with English translations attached:

1. 枯藤、小橋、西風
   我去誰送
   ku teng, xiao qiao, xi feng
   wo qu shei song [I-go-who-see me off]

   Withered vines, small bridge, west wind.
   Who is to see me off as I depart?

2. 老树、瘦馬、流水
去日難追
lao shu, shou ma, liu shui
qu ri nan zhui [go-day-difficult-capture]

Old trees, thin horse, flowing water.
Days gone, impossible to retrieve.

3. 西風、昏鴉、人家
滿地黃花
xi feng, hun ya, ren jia
man di huang hua [full-ground-yellow-flower]

West wind, evening crows, people's houses.
Yellow flowers on the ground, everywhere.

4. 古道、西風、枯藤
煙雨濛濛
gu dao, xi feng, ku teng
yan yu meng meng [mist-rain-murky-murky]

Ancient road, west wind, withered vines.
Drizzles and sprinkles, misty and moisty.

Composed in a matter of a few minutes, these short pieces are truly spontaneous, poetic, and beautiful. I did not ask for tonal antithesis because beginning students, who have not yet learned how to give free reign to their command of vocabulary, need more time than was available. However, if and when an effort is made in this regard, the products will be even more remarkable.

Exercise 10: My Piece of Mind

The last exercise is a Chinese composition on the topic Sunset. This is, of course, a take-home assignment that students can write in either prose or verse. However, the main emphasis of the composition is not so much to practice their writing skills as to encourage them to write on the same topic but according to how they feel when watching the sun go down. What this exercise reveals is that American students in general have a very different way of relating and responding to sunsets. To the modern Western eye, the sunset is essentially a celestial phenomenon of sheer beauty and romance. In the Chinese culture, however, it represents the end of a day, the approach of old age, imminent death, and the decline of a

dynasty. It generates a feeling of anxiety, a tinge of sadness, regret at being alone, realization of being lost, and a longing to return to one's beloved. If the setting sun is beautiful, it is only tragically so. While in contemporary English language writing images of sunsets are modified by words such as "brilliant, glorious, crimson, peaceful" far more frequently than by words like "dying" or "fading," the following poetic couplet from tenth-century China clearly exemplifies the contradictory associations with both wondrous beauty and irrevocable decline that typically accompany references to sunsets in the Chinese poetic vocabulary:

夕陽無限好
只是近黃昏
Xiyang wuxian hao,
Zhi shi jin huanghun.

The setting sun, infinitely beautiful,
Only that the dusk is near.[20]

Depending on their backgrounds, students may stretch their imaginations and make any free thematic or philosophical associations with the topic. They should, however, make an effort to experiment with the language so as to invoke its imagistic power.

Recent developments in language study have justifiably placed great emphasis on culture as an integral part of the learning experience. Language instruction should not only teach oral competency, and how to read and write; it should also demand intellectual curiosity and understanding, a challenge that necessarily requires awareness of the culture that informs the language. Writings in English about Chinese culture are informative and valuable; however, as noted by Swaffar, "the most consistent cultural networks are located in authentic texts,"[21] texts that are produced by natives and for natives. Authentic texts must be included early in a language study program. While native texts vary widely in form, style, and subject matters, the choice of a literary text over other authentic writings, such as a newspaper article or a rental contract, is a decision based on the goals of the program, the needs of students and the interest of the instructor. However, the choice should also be made on cultural grounds. A literary text, such as the above fourteenth-century verse, represents not only a significant achievement in the Chinese poetic tradition, it also contains philosophical and linguistic features characteristic of the Chinese culture.

Its diction belongs to the active vocabulary of a modern educated speaker, and its multiple metaphorical readings are part of the basic repertory of cultural conventions. Its prosody is found in lyrics of contemporary songs and commercial ads. A close reading of the text through linguistic analysis highlights all such features and allows students to absorb and internalize them. Creative exercises further develop their active command of newly acquired skills. A text may be read for its cultural inferences, its literary craftsmanship, and its linguistic particulars. When conducted in the target language, the discussion may prove to be just as much a challenge to the students' language skills as to their intellectual acumen.

Adopting linguistic analysis in a textual investigation is, of course, nothing new in the tradition of literary criticism.[22] Scholars have long noted the importance of studying a text through its basic linguistic makeup, a practice traditionally used in the pedagogy of some European languages.[23] However, insofar as I know, the design of an organized set of linguistic activities to approach literary texts has yet to be systematically pursued in the field of Asian languages.[24] The exercises I have developed and presented in the previous pages are for a particular Chinese text. They are of two types: those that involve specific linguistic maneuvers and those that require original thinking. The latter type is based upon successful completion of the former and the former pedagogically prepares for the latter. In other words, exercises designed for this and any text should be an organic whole that builds gradually through an ever deepening and widening exploration of cultural topics. This gradual progression is crucial for developing students to their fullest capacities as foreign language learners. Some exercises may be shortened or omitted while others may be expanded or modified to meet class requirements. However, both the text and the exercises should stimulate probing discussions that not only achieve a greater understanding of the target culture, but also encourage students to think in a comparative and self-reflexive fashion about their own concepts of life.

I have used some of the exercises with my students and part of the results are presented in this study. I have discussed this pedagogical approach in Chinese language workshops, inviting fellow members to participate in the activities.[25] The responses have been enthusiastic and supportive. Some participants were native speakers of Chinese and well-trained in traditional literature. Nonetheless, afterwards many of them noted that as they took part in the exercises, they realized for the first time and in concrete terms how the poem derived its emotional appeal from the

power of its language. A few teachers vowed to adopt the same set of exercises as they introduce this text in their classes. I have yet to learn what their experiences have been, but I am confident that as more teachers experiment with the approach, more varied and challenging exercises will be designed to suit different curricular and textual demands.

In my workshop presentations, I have also included a twentieth-century Chinese short story and examined, through carefully designed exercises, its use of specific linguistic features in relation to a psychoanalytic reading.[26] In fact, prose or verse, fiction or drama, any literary text can be studied or deconstructed through close linguistic analysis. By focusing our critical attention initially on language, we are in effect retracing the writing process, only in a reverse direction, from the product to the conception of ideas. Just as speakers are seldom aware of using grammar rules when talking, writers may not be fully conscious of the power of linguistic manipulation when choosing the words that commit their ideas, thoughts, and emotions to paper. Nonetheless, grammar can always be reconstructed from a corpus of spoken materials, and compositional patterns and stylistic features can be uncovered in a literary text. The responsibility of literature teachers is to make fruitful use of these patterns and features as they are discovered, and to build them into learning activities that will encourage and enhance students' efforts to read and understand a text.

Traditional Chinese pedagogy in the United States relegates the task of linguistic identification to language teaching, while the task of literary interpretation is assigned to the mission of literature classes. Not without its own justification in terms of specialization in training, the division of labor often creates a tension between teachers in the two disciplines. More disturbing is the fact that students are often pedagogically short-changed by such academic segregation. The dichotomy fails to recognize the importance of making linguistic investigation a vital part of literary discourse. Consequently, students who examine a literary text without first conducting a thorough linguistic analysis may never learn how to appreciate the linguistic mechanisms that account for literary richness. The kind of textual approach through linguistic scrutiny that I propose cuts across the boundary between two disciplines and removes barriers that should never have existed. The approach may be used in a literature class for native speakers as well as for foreign students. It works just as effectively in a literature class as in a language class that uses literary texts as teaching material. Language is the only signifier that directs us to what we set out to look for, the meaning of a text. Language tells and suggests, and our job as

teachers of both language and literature is to find out what it tells and how it suggests.

Notes

I wish to thank the editor and reviewers for their many comments on an early draft of this paper. I also wish to acknowledge the editorial advice I have received from Ms. Marjorie Fletcher. I am grateful to Ms. Andrea Goldman for her assistance in proofreading the manuscript.

1. For a discussion on mediating the problem of translation, see J. Hillis Miller, "Translation as the Double Production of Texts," in *Text and Context: Cross-Disciplinary Perspective on Language Study*, edited by C. Kramsch and S. McConnell-Ginet, 124–34. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1992.
2. For a critical discussion on the pedagogy of literary texts, see Claire Kramsch, *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*, 1993, especially the chapter titled "Teaching the Literary Text," pp. 131–76. Specifically regarding poetry, please read H.G. Widdowson, *Practical Stylistics: An Approach to Poetry*, 1992. The second part of the book is devoted exclusively to the teaching of poetry.
3. In this seminal work on stylistics, Widdowson argues eloquently on the dynamics of mediating between linguistics and literary criticism. By examining a poem by Robert Frost, Widdowson illustrates "an approach to analysis which focuses on the way language is patterned to create a message form which characterizes the poem as a unique act of communication" (p. 122).
4. I am most grateful to Professor Wei Hua, of Pacific Lutheran University, Washington, for involving me in a NEH project entitled "Culture in Language: A Manual for Beginning and Intermediate Chinese." Among the pedagogical materials we examined is the text that I have now used for this study.
5. The poem, generally referred to as *"Tianjingsha,"* its tune title, is attributed to Ma Zhiyuan (ca. 1260 – ca. 1324), a celebrated Chinese poet-playwright under the rule of the Mongol Empire. For a detailed discussion of his work, see a recent dissertation by Linda G. Wang, "A Study of Ma Chih-yuan's *San Ch'u* and *Tsa Chu* Lyrics."
6. The poem is included, for example, in *A First Course in Literary Chinese* compiled by Harold Shadick, Cornell University Press, 1968. Its translation is found in most anthologies of Chinese literature: e.g., Cyril Birch, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, Vol. 2.
7. The romanization is that of the *pinyin* system, with tones given in numerals. In the following discussion, however, tone marking is generally omitted except when the tone becomes pertinent to the study.
8. The literal translation follows that of James Liu, with minor modifications. See James Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, p. 33. In addition, Liu gives a polished version in translation:

   Withered vines, aged trees, twilight crows.
   Beneath the little bridge by the cottage the river flows.
   On the ancient road and lean horse the west wind blows.
   The evening sun westward goes,
   As a broken-hearted man stands at heaven's close.

9. The word *hun* may be glossed as either "dusk, evening" or "dizzy, drowsy," the two readings being, of course, semantically related.
10. The English word "heart-broken" is rhetorically the closest to the Chinese expression *duanchang* "broken-bowel" in that both characterize emotional pain in hyperbolic terms of physical mutilation.
11. Cf. a similar practice in Kramsch, *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*, p. 147, in which she suggests an activity that requires students to "provide a design for the book's paperback cover that captures the themes of the novel as [they] understand it."
12. Those who took part in the activities were A. Goldman, C. Hamm, A. Lee, and H. Tu.
13. It is also interesting to note that two of the illustrations place the setting sun on the right side of the pictures, which is generally associated with the east on a map.
14. For more discussion, see Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, pp. 41–42.
15. The attribute "west" as in "west wind" also carries a negative connotation. As west is where the sun sets and also where souls are said to return after death according to Buddhist belief, the word becomes figuratively associated with darkness, decline, and death. Autumn wind is generally referred to as the west wind in the Chinese literary tradition.
16. One interesting observation made during class discussions pertains to the gender of the traveler or the poet in the poem analyzed above.

I use "he" here, because, even though Chinese is a language with no explicit gender marking, the subject of the poem is always considered to be a man. It would be almost culturally impossible for a Chinese woman of the fourteenth century to travel on horseback in the evening. On the other hand, the autumn thoughts of the poem may be directed to a male or a female, whose companionship the traveler longs for when night falls. Gender reading would indeed be an engaging topic for class activity.

17. See, for example, Zhu Guangqian's discussion in *"Shi yu hua"* (Poetry and Painting), *Shilun* (Poetics), pp. 140–141.

18. For a thorough discussion on the topic of tonal dichotomy, see Ting Pang-hsin, "A New Interpretation of the Even and Oblique Tones," in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*.

19. See Wayne Schlepp, *San-chu, Its Technique and Imagery*, p. 125.

20. From a poem by Li Shangyin (A.D. 813–858).

21. Janet Swaffar, "Written Texts and Cultural Readings," in *Text and Context: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Language Study*, edited by C. Kramsch and S. McConnell-Ginet, p. 238. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1992.

22. For example, Widdowson in his *Practical Stylistics*, 1992, proposes a variety of exercises as a means to approach the contextual significance of a word or feature of grammar in a literary text vis-à-vis what it conventionally means. Exercises include line assembly, verse blanks, use of variants, using prose paraphrases, etc.

23. Cf. the French tradition of *explication de texte*. For more on the teaching of French literary texts, see Dominique Maingenau, *Eléments de linguistique pour le texte littéraire*, 1986.

24. Masako K. Hiraga reports a case study of using literary texts in a Japanese language class in her "Snow and Crow: *Haiku* Experience in Cultural Education," *Language and Literature*, vol. 19:1–17. After lecturing on the comparison between a Japanese *haiku* poem and an English poem, she requires students to compose a *haiku* version of the English poem, and on the basis of the compositions, she examines the various cognitive and aesthetic differences that students experience and internalize as they transpose from a native culture to a target culture.

25. I wish to thank the language teachers of both high-school and college levels who participated in the two workshops I gave at the 1994 Symposium of the Association of Northern California Chinese Schools at Milpitas, California, on August 20, 1994, and at the Fall Meeting of the Chinese Language Teachers' Association at Stanford University on October 29, 1994.

26. The story entitled *"Ai"* (Love) was by Eileen Chang, a twentieth-century Chinese writer most notable for her skills in studying and depicting human passions in unflinching psychological terms.

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Toward a Reflective Practice of TA Education

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Working in the complex middle ground between theory-building and practice, the language program director significantly influences both the competence and attitudes of future language educators. Yet, despite the clear significance of the director's formative and mentoring role, language program direction within many departments of language and literature, culture, or linguistics remains a somewhat marginalized enterprise (Dvorak 1986; VanPatten and Lee 1990).

Increasing national and international demand for competence in intercultural communication highlights the paradox of program directors' marginalization. The members of language department faculties with the greatest educational capacities in this domain are those whose voices are least heard (Rivers 1992). It is frequently the language program director who is responsible for overall quality of language instruction, for on-the-job training of teaching assistants, and for ensuring that TAs develop a longer-term awareness of teaching and learning practices that will carry them into professional life beyond graduate school. Yet such work is typically not given the significance or intellectual recognition it deserves because language teaching is viewed in such dubiously dichotomous terms as "language" versus "literature," or "skill" versus "content" (Kramsch 1993). The work of language program direction is principally cast as what it is not: pedagogical, hence not scholarly, practical, hence nontheoretical.

Language program directors must, of necessity, balance their interest in elegant research findings or theoretical orientations and the more messy exigencies of life in the classroom—their own and others'. As they struggle to find this balance between theory and practice, explicit and implicit knowledge, analysis and performance—they may appreciate the impor-

tance of applying a reflective practice model to the training of their TAs.

The reflective practice model offers a metaphorical tool for constructing an integrated view of teaching that cycles iteratively through principled change and reflection upon change. Thus far, the model has proven useful in bringing about innovation through teacher-owned action research in language classrooms (Bailey 1995; Chamot 1995; Richards and Lockhart 1994). At issue in this paper is the extent to which the reflective practice model may also help language program directors understand and solve problems in the practice of TA education.

Part one of this paper offers a detailed description of the origin and nature of the reflective practice model—one among many possible models for reflecting on the practice of language program direction. Part two examines the level of "received knowledge," i.e., the information commonly found in journals, workshops, and methods courses. This information is supposed to provide one source of initial rationale (if not impetus) for changes in practice. Some recent changes in the domain of received knowledge include a revised view of language as discourse and a longer-term understanding of learning as a process embedded in social context. Like the reflective practice model itself, current theories of received knowledge are inclusive, integrative, and process-oriented.

A discourse-based understanding of language development may enhance both the relevance and the effectiveness of language education. However, in practice, discourse-based pedagogy tends to lose momentum due to particular constraints that are essentially ideological in nature (e.g., compartmentalization of scholarship, competition for legitimized status, and product-oriented, computational—and therefore short-term and assessment-driven definition of language.) Part three shows how language instruction at American universities may be viewed as a special case of the Utilitarian discourse system (Scollon and Scollon 1995), which upholds and maintains the above-mentioned ideology.

The final section of this paper emphasizes the practice of language program direction itself, suggesting that language program directors consider reorienting their stance vis-à-vis the institutions where they work. At present a great deal of their effort goes into acquisition research and program development, often with a much needed emphasis on immediate concerns. The reflective approach, however, in suggesting a principled integration of received knowledge and practice, may lead to a broader perspective regarding the tasks facing program directors. TA education may have more impact if redirected by educators who, in full recognition of

their mentoring role as models for future professors, strive to "practice what they preach" in the design of TA education courses.

It is also suggested that language program directors develop their own understanding of language as discourse, and not only because the resulting awareness will enhance the delivery of language instruction for early-stage learners: Recognition of discourse systems and ability to parse their meaning may help the directors themselves to promote long-term and integrative change across the discourse systems that exist in the institutions where they work.

Reflective Practice

The term "reflective practice" originated in Donald Schön's studies on the preparation and competence of professionals in such diverse fields as architecture and psychotherapy (1983). Schön begins with the observation that professionals demonstrate a kind of generalized capacity for reflection on their implicit, intuitive knowledge. This capacity is frequently brought to bear in coping with novel or unstable working circumstances. For Schön, the study of this "knowing-in-action" replaces an older model he terms "technical rationality," in which " . . . professional activity consists in instrumental problem solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique" (Schön 1983, p. 21).

In interpreting this model for language teaching, Wallace (1991) defines reflective practice in relation to two other common models of teacher development: the *craft* model that emphasizes imitation and emulation of the expert's professional wisdom, and the *applied science* model (Schön's *technical rationality*) that focuses on a profession's received knowledge "the facts" to be found in journals, textbooks—and courses on education. The craft model is atheoretical: Teaching is understood to be analogous to skilled activity in general; it develops primarily through practice and exposure to the activity of experts. The applied science model is a top-down representation of teachers as consumers of knowledge, produced elsewhere by researchers and theorists. In this model, professional renewal consists of periodic updates on the pedagogical implications of research, which the teacher is expected to export and apply in the classroom. Both models epitomize commonly held views. The applied science model motivates many courses on methodology and second language acquisition provided in support of teacher education. Teachers often turn to the craft model when applied science proves impractical or irrelevant.

The *reflective* model seeks to combine and integrate both the applied

science and the craft models, and in so doing suggests a parallel to Bruner's "Two Modes of Thought" (1986). In that essay, Bruner defines two essential modes of cognitive functioning, two basic ways of knowing. One is the logico-scientific or "paradigmatic" way, which strives for ever higher abstraction and generality. The other, the narrative, "strives to put its timeless miracles into the particulars of experience, and to locate that experience in time and place" (p. 13). The successful application of the paradigmatic mode results in a good theory, the proper functioning of the narrative mode results in a good story, believable, if not necessarily true.

The reflective model attempts to reconcile the differences between these two modes of thought by representing them both within an idealized, experiential learning cycle that synthesizes practice and informed, critical reflection.

As can be seen in Figure 1, cycles of theory-building, practical application, and reflection lead, ideally, to integrating technical knowledge with life experiences. What is most compelling about the reflective practice model is precisely that it is centered on teachers' experience of diverse situations and ways of knowing.

In the context of a hierarchy of values, that places isolated research and theory generation well above the practice of teaching (Clarke 1994), the reflective approach is potentially subversive. By validating the experience of practitioners, and changing their stance in relation to the production of research and theory—acknowledging them as a primary source of knowledge production—the reflective approach reverses the theory-to-practice power relationship implied by the understanding of practice as technical rationality.

At the same time, however, cycles of reflection promote active and enabling use of theory in unceasing reiteration and re-evaluation. Reflecting on the integration of theory and practice validates the research enterprise in its "helping" dimension, as opposed to its purely epistemological value (van Lier 1991). Unlike the craft model, the reflective practice model offers a systematic way to review or redirect the uses of research and theory, which may then be redesigned or interpreted to address issues of practice.

Openness to change and the ability to critically evaluate new approaches are among the most crucial conceptual tools of language educators because their profession is constantly changing. As questions, methods, technologies, contexts, and paradigms are redefined, the need for change may well be the only discrete element of the profession's self-assess-

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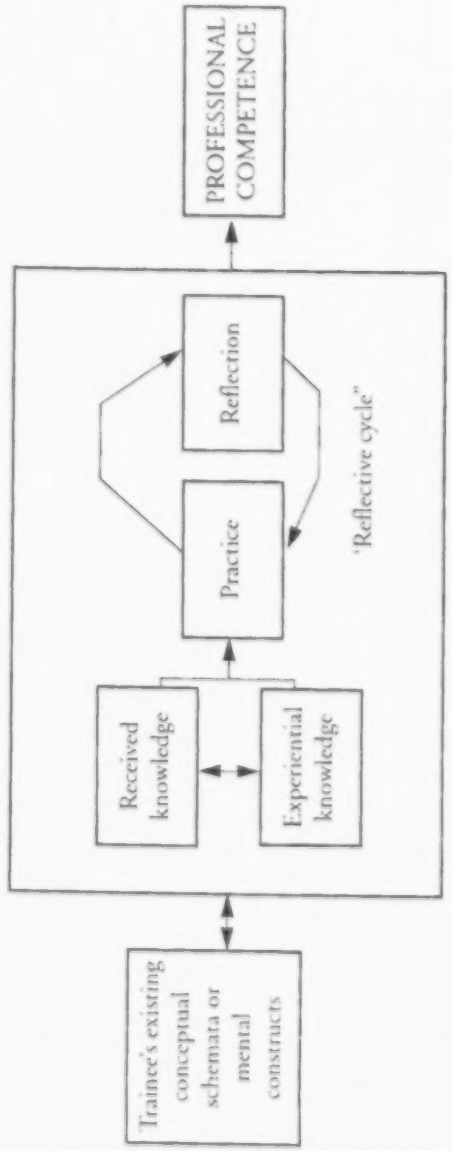

Figure 1
Reflective practice model of professional education/development
(Wallace 1991, p. 49)

ment that remains constant over time. The reflective practice model offers a dynamic approach to the continuous professional development and concurrent drive for innovation characteristic of the profession.

Reflecting on the Profession's Received Knowledge

In the literature on language instruction, the reflective practice model has been exploited mainly in its potential to motivate "action research" and critical reflection on specific cases of procedure in language classrooms (e.g., Allwright 1988, Bailey 1995; Chamot 1995; Richards and Lockhart 1994). Its application to the general practice of language program direction and the education of teachers will require, in addition, a periodic critical review of the field's received knowledge and how that received knowledge relates to the practice of teacher education. Clearly, the goals have become more inclusive, as illustrated in Kramsch's rationale for language education in institutional settings: ". . . to become communicatively proficient in the language, to gain insights into the symbolic and the communicative functions of language, and to develop cultural awareness and cross-cultural understanding" (Kramsch 1987, p. viii).

The received knowledge of language teaching has always included, at a minimum, a theory of language and a theory of language development. Many language educators now consider it necessary to broaden the perspective from which the profession defines these essential elements, in order to provide instruction that truly fosters development of intercultural communicative competence. Accordingly, a theory of language as discourse has now become part of the received knowledge of language teaching and learning as processes embedded in a sociocultural context.

Language as Discourse

An essential feature of any discourse view of language is its emphasis on language use in real situations; the basic unit for discourse analysis is not the abstract form or rule, but a given instance of language use. "Discourse analysis" varies greatly in its object, method, and scope, from the study of logical relations creating cohesion within texts with little reference to intertextual or societal context (Halliday and Hasan 1976), to the study of coherence and ideological positioning within societal discourse systems (Gee 1990; Fairclough 1989). Under the heading "discourse analysis" a large number of other pursuits can be found: the study of communication across discourse systems (Scollon and Scollon 1995) defined, for example, by gender (Tannen 1993); the study of conversational inference (Gumperz 1982); the discourse of formal education in classrooms (Mehan 1979). The purposes of discourse analysis are seemingly limitless. [1]

It is its emphasis on language use, however, that makes discourse analysis attractive for language education. Discourse analysis holds out the promise of a real understanding of "authenticity," which would permeate the entire language teaching enterprise, from the discourse of the classroom through the portrayal of otherness and of intercultural communication as it takes place in all settings. Knowing more about language use in and out of classrooms helps teachers not only understand the regularities of form and participants' expectations of classroom language, but also expand classroom discourse options when desirable (Kramsch 1985), and above all appreciate classroom life in its own complex phenomenology (van Lier 1988).

A focus on language use is also attractive because of the interdisciplinary character of discourse-based language study:

> Language education becomes interdisciplinary. While its focus remains in the description of language, grammar, lexis, phonology and discourse, an understanding of the curriculum landscape now requires insights from cognitive psychology and sociology, from studies in ideology and media studies, from conversational analysis and ethnography and from cultural history . . . Characteristically new here is the insistence on a continuum and a community of teachers of foreign and second language and teachers of the mother tongue. (Candlin 1994, p. ix)

To take just one of Candlin's "source fields" as an example, conversational analysis (Wardhaugh 1985) has the potential to bring much greater depth and precision to the profession's understanding of classroom events as well as to the teaching of conversation itself. Using the tools of conversational analysis, it is possible to describe: how taking turns at talk (and, hence, rights to generate meaning) are distributed; how conversational problems are resolved; and how topics are foregrounded. It is also possible to compare these patterns of use within and across many different social contexts: in the classroom (van Lier 1988); in the courtroom (Matoesian 1993); at the dinner table (Tannen 1984; Wieland 1991). Conversational analysis is necessary to elucidate the complexities of *oral*—in contrast to written—discourse. Increasingly, the analysis of conversational interaction also provides useful insights into the process of second language development itself (Donato 1994).

For language instruction at universities in the United States, a dis-

course-based focus would remind educators of the need for explicit links between language study and the other fields of study within language departments, such as literature, culture, or linguistics. Many of the potentially relevant disciplines are not normally housed in departments of language and literature, but many others are: cultural theory, linguistics, history, literary studies.

A Sociocultural Approach to Language Development

At the same time that second language education has developed discourse-based approaches to describing language, second language acquisition research has tried to illuminate the relationship between language development and social context. For example, the work of Hatch (1978) and Long (1981) marked the beginning of a line of research whose aim has been to explore the development of grammatical competence through the processing of input in interaction (see recent overview in Pica 1994). In this research, partly inspired by Krashen's popular Input Hypothesis (1985), discourse is viewed as a medium for the delivery of comprehensible language that will drive an undefined acquisition mechanism. Without a complete or plausible explanation for the development occurring in interaction, this research has been limited to the description of conditions which may—or may not—favor input processing.

More recently, scholars following a Vygotskian line of research have taken up a sociocultural view, which defines language development as the process of social interaction itself. For Vygotsky, all higher order mental functions develop first on the intermental plane, that is, in interaction with others, prior to their appropriation by individuals on an intramental plane. Development occurs in the individual's *zone of proximal development*, or level of activity at which performance is possible in dialogic interaction with assistance from a more capable other. As individuals proceed through this *zone of proximal development*, they move from other-regulated action to control of their own activity, or self-regulation in the accomplishment of the task. To study the development of such a complex capability as second language competence, therefore, one should focus, according to Vygotsky's microgenetic theory, on the individual's appropriation of sociocultural knowledge in assisted performance.

A thorough account of Vygotskian theory in second language studies would be beyond the scope of this article and is, in any case, available elsewhere (Lantolf 1994; Lantolf and Appel 1994). Most interesting here is the very fact that the field of second language education now includes

among its received knowledge a theory placing the locus of cognitive development in social interaction; that is, in discourse-based activity. Moreover, this theory may well prove to have greater explanatory power than theories based on input-processing metaphors, and this for two reasons: 1) because its theory of development is explicit, whereas input-processing approaches tend not to explain *how* input drives language acquisition, and 2) because its frame of reference includes all that is learned through and about participation in sociocultural activity. Other theories, by contrast, often separate language form and function, and generally only account for the acquisition of a distinct grammatical competence.

For the moment, sociocultural theory does not represent the mainstream of second language development theory. However, the approach has gained sufficient legitimacy to be considered part of the profession's received knowledge. Like the discourse-based definition of language, this theory of development has important implications for both researchers and educators. For researchers, sociocultural theory implies a process-oriented and long-term view of acquisition that is very different from prevailing notions of the mind as a blank slate awaiting the mentor's chalk, as a container to be filled with knowledge, or as a processor to be activated by data entry. For language educators, the theory directs attention to the qualities of "informal" learning, to teaching as "assisted performance," to the evolution of knowledge over years of experience.

Ideology and the Practice of TA Education

Thus far, this paper has argued that the received knowledge of second language education includes a view of language as discourse and a sociocultural approach to understanding language development. Taken together, these two orientations imply the design of language education with the following attributes:

1. It values the authenticity of language use in all contexts, including the classroom.
2. It is interdisciplinary in its intellectual origins, in its approaches to research, and in the design of learning environments.
3. It values social interaction in its vital role in language development; in its assessment of social interaction it does not distinguish between product and process, between medium and message.

4. It takes into account the long-term nature of second language development as socialization.

What becomes of these notions when they are included in a program of TA education? In this author's experience, there is generally an initial period of deep and genuine appreciation for the possibilities they represent, followed by expressions of doubt as to their relevance for practical teaching concerns. Occasionally, TAs claim that these attempts at "education" are confusing; they express a desire for a more "training-" oriented approach, that is, an emphasis on teaching technique rather than on theory. Upon reflection, it is easy to understand why TAs have difficulty integrating certain aspects of the new received knowledge, for it does not mesh well with the political, ideological, and organizational realities of language departments, nor does it fit easily into the general experience of formal education.

In discussing the discourse systems that define culture, Scollon and Scollon (1995) define a discourse system as constituted by its preferred forms of verbal practice, which are shaped by its ideology, learned via its socialization patterns and its politeness practices, or "face systems." An ideology is "a system of thinking, social practice and communication . . . which is used either to bring a particular group to social power or to legitimate their position of social power . . . " (p. 119). The authors take as one example the Utilitarian discourse system that pervades many Western professional contexts. For example, Utilitarianism as a discourse system is in large part responsible for an American public educational system that "has been traditionally based on utility, democracy and scientific measures of progress" (Kramsch 1993, p. 187). Utilitarian ideology traces its roots to the European Enlightenment, i.e., to the origins of individualism and egalitarianism. It is based on the ethical principle that society exists in order to produce the greatest happiness for the largest possible number of people. Utilitarianism also presumes that humans are logical, rational economic beings; that the free individual is the basis of society; and that the key to greater production (hence progress toward greater happiness for more people) is technology and invention. The Utilitarian society's most valuable members are those who produce the greatest wealth. Among the ideals of Utilitarian discourse is a preference for the deductive and the public, and an emphasis on empirical fact.

It is characteristic of the ideological structure and worldview of the Utilitarian system that the ideal mode of socialization into Utilitarianism is formal schooling. It was, indeed, early Utilitarians who, in the mid-nineteenth century, institutionalized a division between formal and informal learning via generalized, compulsory public education. Structured to train a workforce who would willingly give up traditional practices and values in favor of wealth production through technology and industry, the public school took on many of the attributes of its parallel institution, the factory. Classrooms were, in fact, designed to maximize the efficiency and cost-effectiveness with which knowledge is progressively dispensed in discrete measured quantities. This commodity—formal knowledge—was produced by researchers, collected by teachers, then transmitted to students. With the emergence of institutionalized schooling came devaluation of non-formal learning; forced separation of working and learning contexts; emphasis on the quantifiable; and, of course, the conception of the student mind as a vessel to be filled with knowledge, through the purposeful act of teaching.

Scollon and Scollon also describe the politeness practices, or "face systems," of Utilitarianism within organizations. The ideal of egalitarianism prompts organizations to present the view, at least to the outside world, that all their members are in symmetrical solidarity with each other. In fact, membership in corporations and schools is hierarchically organized. The "higher-ups" may choose to invite involvement from those below, whereas those below tend to demonstrate respect to their superiors via strategies of independence. Rising to the top within the hierarchy is dependent on individuals' ability to compete with peers, proving themselves more productive and better able to control the public, deductive, and empirically based forms of Utilitarian discourse.

Language education in institutional settings is a subset of general formal education, and hierarchically lesser among equals than fields that produce more easily quantifiable or more lucrative knowledge. In symmetrical solidarity, it, too subsists through upholding the values of its origin. Having considered the Utilitarian discourse system in some detail, it becomes possible to precisely identify some obstacles encountered by TA educators who attempt to invoke discourse-based and sociocultural approaches to language teaching or teacher education. They pertain specifically to the notions of authenticity, interdisciplinarity, and social interaction as learning.

Authenticity

A discourse-based and sociocultural approach, to recall Part Two, values the authenticity of language use in all contexts and recognizes the uniqueness

of every instance in which knowledge is created through language use. The concept is exemplified in Savignon's definition of communicative competence as a dynamic, relative and context-dependent construct (1983). When introduced into the milieu of discourse systems of formal education, a sociocultural view survives only with difficulty because it resists quantification and commodification. The "authenticity" of texts, for example, has become a question of the extent to which they reflect putative native speaker norms, with little reference to the legitimacy and variability of nonnative interpretations (Kramsch 1995). "Authentic texts" are now the products of textbook publishers who have seized the notion and repackaged it in an acceptable, commodified form. Many educators—or so it would seem—cannot avoid conceiving of L2 proficiency as an individually owned commodity, that exists in measurable quantity regardless of the context in which it is used. This is in some fundamental way unavoidable, given the overwhelming influence of utilitarianism in U.S. education.

Interdisciplinarity

The newer received knowledge as described in this paper also informs a view that is interdisciplinary in its intellectual origins, in its approaches to research and in the design of learning environments. It is instructive to look at this problem from an institution-wide perspective. Brecht and Walton (1995, pp. 140–41) have identified the lines of demarcation around which academic compartmentalization typically occurs, identifying what they consider to be the four essential missions of departments of language and literature:

1. the proficiency mission that furthers the goal of developing useful communicative ability in the languages taught
2. the general education mission that strives to develop metalinguistic awareness and overcome ethnocentrism
3. the expertise mission that creates the university professor of the future, typically in the mold of the professors of today
4. the ethnic heritage mission that preserves the linguistic and cultural identity of member groups

Brecht and Walton further suggest that departments exhibit inconsistencies in their observance of these missions. Normally, the department

claims to be driven by the first mission, that is, the fostering of language proficiency. However, according to Brecht and Walton, language courses typically achieve more in the area identified as "general education" than they do in the development of communicative proficiency. The ethnic heritage mission is addressed rarely and often neglected entirely.

The fundamental organization of departments most clearly supports an expertise mission: The most resources and the quantifiably and quantitatively greatest professorial teaching efforts are devoted to upper-level and graduate courses, which are seen as involving something other than language. Mirroring the Utilitarian face system, therefore, departments claim to be organized around egalitarian utility, producing maximal good for the greatest possible number of people. The problem with this, in universities as in corporations, is that the claim to egalitarianism conflicts with other facets of Utilitarianism, including the differential evaluation of individuals according to their production capacity and adherence to the discourse system. To solve this problem, Utilitarianism must contradict itself and override the principle of egalitarianism in favor of preserving the hierarchies that structure the institution. Within language departments, the institutional requirement of self-preservation is an implicit prime directive leading to disproportionate emphasis on academic "expertise."

Language program directors are associated with the lower ranks of the department because of their preoccupation with the less highly regarded "language proficiency" mission. When they reach out to other disciplines, it is therefore less a matter of moving *across* disciplinary lines than it is a question of reaching up into higher organizational levels. Recalling the discussion of face systems within hierarchies, only "higher ups" may invite participation from below; those who inhabit the lower rungs of the hierarchy avoid initiating dialogue with their superiors out of respect for their independence. The drive for institutional self-preservation combines with the face system of Utilitarianism to override the principles of utility and equality, effectively stifling interdisciplinary approaches to language study.

Social Interaction as Learning

Because of prevailing aspects of Utilitarian ideology, the understanding of social interaction as learning encounters several important conceptual obstacles. Firstly, this definition runs counter to the Utilitarian view that the free individual is the basis of society. Within this view, the social exists only by rational consensus because all of the individuals consider a particular social arrangement to their advantage. In school, individuals are

evaluated, ranked, promoted and so on according to the value of their own performance. Secondly, any learning perceived as "non-formal" is routinely devalued in schools. When the quantifiable educational objectives and grade benefits of a school-based activity are neither pre-established nor self-evident, students perceive the activity at best as "down time." Or worse, as wasted time.

Thirdly, locating learning in social interaction does not fit the common understanding of the mind as a container to be filled with knowledge. It is neither meaningful nor possible to determine with precision just what content comes to the individual mind from informal learning, and it is equally impossible to quantify that content for evaluative purposes. To quote a TA known to the author, "All of this is real exciting, but I can't figure out where to put it on the mid-term exam."

The Long Term

Finally, in a discourse-based and sociocultural view of language education language educators must take into account the long-term nature of second language development. If second language learning is a process of socialization over a period of years, it is also continuous with respect to learners' prior experience. In the Utilitarian discourse system, however, value is measured in terms of quantified production, which leads to concerns regarding efficiency and cost-effectiveness. The production of education is measured in units, such as hours of classroom seat-time or standardized test scores. The production of foreign language education in the United States is measured in units of reproducible "authentic language" (Frawley 1993). Since responsibility for formal education is divided among several institutions and many classrooms, each of which strives to meet its own local production goals, discontinuity is characteristic of the normal language education experience in school. TAs are not easily persuaded to distance themselves from local production concerns in order to fully appreciate the long-term social process of language development. The TA's first mission, after all, is the production of A's and quantifiable success in the program.

The Reflective Practice of TA Education

A careful look at the dilemma of the language program director shows that there is more at stake than mere tension between theory and practice. The irreconcilable discourses of language education and of institutional schooling place the informed program director in the position of continuously steering a course between unquantifiable communicative competence and measurable proficiency, between disciplinary constraints and interdisciplinary explorations, between short-term and long-term goals in language education. Acknowledging and analyzing the ideological component of incompatible discourses will not produce immediate practical solutions, but at least it charts certain obstacles.

Meanwhile, reflective practice remains a potentially useful model for TA education because it suggests experimentation with different ways of integrating new ideas within teaching practice. Faced with the problem of incompatible discourses, language program directors may opt to integrate themselves more successfully into the institutional system, or attempt to change the system. Strategies for the first option include continued efforts to upgrade the status of language teaching within institutional authority structures. Program directors may simply provide information to their colleagues about the scholarly nature of second language studies, and to the public about the substantive findings of research on learning nonprimary languages and cultures (Cummins 1995). To do this successfully, of course, will require that they communicate to varying audiences in understandable terms. For this they will have to develop their own understanding of intercultural communication and apply it to the work of furthering an appropriate agenda.

Another, complementary approach involves critical examination of the extent to which language program directors contribute to maintaining the status quo. Sociologists commonly observe that oppression requires the participation of the oppressed, who acquiesce unwittingly because they believe there is no other way of thinking: "Social and cognitive structures are recursively and structurally linked, and the correspondence that obtains between them provides one of the most solid props of social domination" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 14). One problem for program directors is that they usually have heavy administrative responsibilities involving many people and numerous discrete tasks. Under the daunting circumstances they face, they must reserve what little research time they have for furthering work in their specialty. When they write as *language program directors*, they tend to concentrate on practical problem solving and putting out fires. They very infrequently reflect on the integration of scholarship in the literary, linguistic, or cultural disciplines represented in language departments. This is the case even though problems of integration and independence are central to language teaching as a discipline. As

long as program directors continue to consider their role as primarily administrative and practical, substantive communication with the other levels of institutional authority structures will be impeded.

As for changing the authority structure, the best opportunity available to the program director is TA education itself: The TAs of today form the professoriate of tomorrow and will one day govern their institutions. In order to effect change, "academic re-supply" must be replaced by another view of graduate education, one in which the program director participates actively as scholar and educator. The kind of TA education envisaged here would offer a comprehensive understanding of language and its development. It would demonstrate convincingly that this view is not only useful, but essential to the language educator.

Program directors can further this goal by "practicing what they preach" in their own efforts at TA education. This may mean, among many other things, applying the reflective practice model to continuous innovation in courses for TAs; working to integrate in their teacher training the best available received knowledge, for example, by bringing a view of language as discourse to the center of their TAs' attention, adapting a multi-disciplinary perspective, or integrating their TAs' own experiences as students and users of language. Looking at language development as a long-term and socially embedded process might lead TAs to question the discontinuities marking their own lives as learners.

It may not be too optimistic to suppose that TA education, redefined as a vehicle for change, can work toward shaping a professoriate of tomorrow capable of integrated, overarching, yet ultimately realistic conceptions of language education.

Notes

1. There are several useful introductions to the field of discourse analysis (Brown and Yule 1983; Stubbs 1983; van Dijk 1985; Fairclough 1989); and to the relevance of discourse analysis for language instruction (Cook 1989; McCarthy 1991; Hatch 1992; Kramsch 1993; McCarthy and Carter 1994).

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Part III

Linguistic Boundaries

Redefining the Boundaries of Language Use: The Foreign Language Classroom as a Multilingual Speech Community

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> Communities are distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. Benedict Anderson (1991, p. 6)

Redefining the "boundaries" of foreign language *study* implies a redefinition of the boundaries of language *use*.[1] Sociolinguistics is, of course, the study of how language is used in social contexts—including foreign language classrooms. So what does sociolinguistics have to tell us as we seek to redefine curricular boundaries? What are the social rules that govern the use of languages in our classrooms? What are the attitudes of foreign language teachers toward patterns of language use and language choice inside and outside the classroom? I believe that part of the answer to these compelling questions can be found in the sociolinguistic concept of the *multilingual speech community*. "Imagining" the foreign language classroom as a multilingual speech community reveals the polyvalent nature of our disciplinary boundaries, which intersect with other boundaries—linguistic, geopolitical, and affective. In particular, the metaphor of the multilingual speech community is germane to discussions of curricular reform because it highlights the dissonance between the reality of our postmodern multicultural/multilingual societies and the prevailing monolingual bias of foreign language educators (Cook 1992). I will argue that the monolingual bias of the language teaching profession, a bias inherent in most Western ideology and social practice (Fraga et al. 1994; Romaine 1989), pro-

foundly affects foreign language methodology and curriculum development. In short, I will attempt to show that our debate over language ownership and language usership in the foreign language classroom should be framed in terms of multilingualism.

Sociolinguistics and Foreign Language Pedagogy

Recent models of language pedagogy have been greatly influenced by sociolinguistic concepts, in particular by *communicative competence*, a concept that sociolinguists devised in reaction to Chomskyan linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965) argued that for theoretical linguistics to make progress, it was essential to distinguish *competence*, an idealized speaker's abstract knowledge of the linguistic system, from *performance*, the actual production of language in specific contexts. Performance, Chomsky claimed, was characterized by dysfluencies and grammatical error and as such was an imperfect reflection of a speaker's underlying competence. While sociolinguists were equivocal about the theoretical necessity of the competence/performance distinction, they generally agreed that competence so defined overlooked the significance of sociolinguistic knowledge, namely the knowledge of the appropriateness of an utterance in a given context (Campbell and Wales 1970). Hymes (1972) contended that such grammatical competence was but a single component of a broader base of knowledge, which he named "communicative competence."

While the sociolinguistic concept of communicative competence has gained wide currency among language teachers, the related concept of the *speech community* has garnered little recognition (see Omaggio Hadley 1993 for an overview of research relating communicative competence to foreign language instruction). This is unfortunate because the two concepts are intimately linked in sociolinguistic theory. For example, Saville-Troike (1989) in her introductory text on the ethnography of communication describes communicative competence as the skills and knowledge a speaker possesses, that allow him or her "to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community" (p. 2).

Even though the speech community is a central concept to sociolinguistics, it is difficult to define with much precision. Speech communities, like languages, are hard to pin down; they represent phenomena that are not static and discrete but rather dynamic and gradient. In other words, just as there is no clear demarcation between genetically related languages, the boundary between speech communities is often blurred. And nowhere is the blurring of linguistic boundaries more apparent than in multilingual

speech communities, where speakers often mix languages in ways that make it impossible for outsiders to follow even the simplest speech acts. These problems aside, most definitions of speech community equate community membership with language use, including the patterns of verbal interaction and the frequency of interactions (Gumperz 1962). Other definitions emphasize shared attitudes and self-perceptions as indicators of community membership (Dorian 1982). In his study of competence differences between native and near-native speakers of French, Coppieters (1987) concludes that "a speaker of French is someone *who is accepted as such by the community referred to as that of French speakers*, not someone who is endowed with a specific formal underlying linguistic system" (p. 565) (my emphasis).[2] Therefore, ethnographers and sociolinguists are primarily interested in the way "communication within [a speech community] is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events, and the ways in which these interact with all other systems of culture" (Saville-Troike 1989, p. 3).

Foreign language educators and second language acquisition specialists, on the other hand, have generally drawn more heavily from psycholinguistic rather than sociolinguistic paradigms (see Preston 1989 for a discussion concerning the roles of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics in second language acquisition). While both sociolinguists and psycholinguists agree that communicative competence is context-specific, in that communication always occurs in a particular context, their notion of context manifests different emphases. In keeping with their psycholinguistic orientation, second and foreign language teachers typically view students as *individual* speaker/learners rather than as members of a particular social group. For example, in her influential studies concerning the role of communicative competence in foreign language instruction, Savignon (1972, 1983) says comparatively little about the larger social norms governing interaction. Instead, she emphasizes a speaker's ability to negotiate face-to-face communication: "Communicative competence may be defined as the ability to function in a truly communicative setting—that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total information input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more interlocutors" (Savignon 1972, p. 8).

Sociolinguists and anthropological linguists would not disagree with Savignon's definition of communicative competence. Rather, they would be more likely to emphasize what McLaughlin (1985) has called the "surrounding context of events, the goals of the program and of the teacher, or

the interrelationship of nonverbal to verbal behavior" (p. 149). McLaughlin advocates the inclusion of more ethnographically oriented studies in second language research which, he argues, would allow for a "more contextual perspective . . . needed to understand the social life of the classroom."[3] Understanding the social life of the classroom is exemplified in the work of Cazden (1988) who examines how cultural factors influence the success or failure of classroom interactional routines:

> All human behavior is culturally based. Ways of talking that seem so natural to one group are experienced as culturally strange to another. Just as all speech has an accent, even though we are not made aware of our own until we travel somewhere where there is a different norm, so patterns of teacher-student interactions in typical classroom lessons are cultural phenomena, not 'natural' in any sense either. (p. 67)

Monolingual Bias and Foreign Language Pedagogy

It would be incorrect to claim, however, that foreign language educators and researchers have paid scant attention to social factors in the classroom. For example, current textbooks on second language acquisition and teaching methodology emphasize the importance of social and affective variables in language learning (Ellis 1985; Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991; Oller 1993; Omaggio Hadley 1993; Shrum and Glisan 1994). Moreover, the metaphor of the classroom as community is not uncommon in the educational literature. Two decades ago, Curran proposed a method of language teaching that he called Community Language Learning (Richards 1986). Yet, while the general idea of community may not be new to foreign language educators, the idea of the classroom as a multilingual speech community most certainly is. Or, even more to the point, the *sui generis* nature of multilingualism, the Pandora's box of linguistics, remains largely unexplored by foreign language educators. This is understandable since foreign language education in the United States (and western Europe) has always been predicated on a rather idealized monolingual native speaker norm. But as Kramsch (forthcoming) points out, even the distinction between native speaker and non-native speaker has become problematic nowadays: "Not only have scholars started questioning the *identity* of the native speaker, but recent years have also seen a slow but sure erosion of his unquestioned *authority*."

Questioning the identity and authority of the idealized monolingual native speaker is the *modus operandi* of Romaine (1989) who begins her book on bilingualism with this sentence: "It would certainly be odd to

encounter a book with the title *Monolingualism*" (p. 1). If you are a British, American, or Australian English-speaker, you are likely to agree with such a statement. Why go to the trouble of writing a book about the normal state of affairs? Isn't it the unusual or abnormal that requires examination and explanation? Romaine's comment is generally applicable to anyone who has grown up in a society where monolingualism is valued more than multilingualism, although it holds special importance for theoretical linguists.

Romaine contends that monolingualism is the frame of reference for most theoretical linguists, the most notable exemplar being Chomsky (1965) who defined the "boundaries" of the "scientific" study of language as follows: "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly" (p. 3). In other words, a perfectly monolingual speaker in a perfectly monolingual speech community, an abstraction if ever there was one. Romaine (1989) points out that linguistic theory does not fall from the sky but originates within a particular cultural context:

> It is . . . no accident that linguistic theory has its origins in the cultural ideology of western Europe and the major Anglophone countries, which attach some special significance to monolingualism and the ethos of 'one state—one language.' At various stages in their history most of these nations have felt that minority groups were threats to the cohesion of the state and have therefore tried to eradicate both the speakers and their language. (p. 6)

Fraga et al. (1994) claim that the one state–one language ethos derives from Western ideology in which the individual is conceived of as a "unified subject . . . an autonomous, coherent, consistent, and definable whole" (p. 8). During the development of the Western nation state, "unified subjects" were cast as "unified citizens" who were seen as sharing a monolithic national identity. In a sense, citizens were embodiments of "*the* national language, *the* national culture, and often *the* national religion" (Fraga et al., p. 8).

French history provides a particularly good example of the one state–one language ethos. When a survey discovered that two-thirds of the French population did not speak French at the time of the revolution, the political left, which had recently come to power formulated a ruthless policy aimed at eliminating all regional languages.[4] The elimination of linguistic diversity in the name of national unity continued during the French empires and monarchies of the nineteenth century and lasted well

into the democratic republics of the twentieth century. Even as late as 1972, French President Pompidou openly declared that "'Il n'y a pas de place pour les langues minoritaires dans une France destinée à marquer l'Europe de son sceau.' (There is no room for minority languages in a France destined to make its mark on Europe)" (Ager 1990, p. 30). Such a conscious policy of linguistic hegemony is consonant with France's tradition of political and social centralization, the primary goal being "'to ensure that political boundaries also become affective boundaries'" (p. 30).

Compared to the French, Americans are generally acknowledged as being less concerned with issues of language standardization and correct usage. Nevertheless, the United States has its own history of ambivalence towards multilingualism. Fraga et al. (1994) argue that English monolingualism has always been the ideal accepted by most Americans:

> Bilingualism, except for the brief study of foreign languages in school, is actively discouraged. The story of punishment at school for speaking a language other than English is shared by many generations of Americans of all ethnic backgrounds. The de facto national language here has been and continues to be English, and the exclusive use of this language has been considered fundamental to the nation's social cohesion. Today, the term bilingual is often used in this country as a euphemism to speak about the poor, the uneducated, or the newly arrived. (p. 12)

The most recent manifestation of American ambivalence toward multilingualism is the official English or English only movement, which continues to gain momentum, especially in states with large Spanish-speaking populations, such as Florida, California, and Texas. Leaders of U.S. English and English First, the major political organizations advocating official status for English in the United States, argue that the increase in non-English speaking populations will lead to disunity and eventual social unrest including separatism (Adams and Brinks 1990). Initiatives to pass legislation that would mandate the official status of English and thereby limit the use of other languages in American public discourse have been moderately successful to date.[5] This is not to say that all monolingual Americans view bilingualism or multilingualism with scorn and suspicion. On the contrary, many monolingual Americans see bilingualism in an extremely positive if somewhat idealized light. Skuttnab-Kangas (1981) notes that positive or negative evaluations of a speaker's bilingual ability are essentially evaluations of a person's social class, ethnicity, or educational level:

> If you have learnt French at university, preferably in France and even better at the Sorbonne, then bilingualism is something very positive. But if you have learnt French from your old grandmother in Maine then bilingualism is something rather to be ashamed of. (p. 96)

It is only natural for Americans to evaluate bilingualism either very positively or very negatively given the minority status and socioeconomic stratification of bilingual speakers in the United States. The irony, of course, is that Americans who perceive monolingualism as the natural state of affairs are unaware of the global sociolinguistic facts. It is *multilingualism* that is the norm throughout most of the world, and *monolingualism* that is the exception to the rule.[6] Given that multilingual non-native speakers are the majority, Kramsch (forthcoming) calls on foreign language teachers to "make the multilingual speaker the unmarked form, the infinitive of language use, and the monolingual monocultural speaker a slowly disappearing species or a nationalistic myth." Cook (1992) similarly argues that foreign language teachers and SLA researchers would do well to take multilingual communities as the model for second/foreign language learning: "It would be salutary for SLA research if it started from countries such as Cameroon in which a person may use four or five languages in the course of a day, taken from the 2 official languages, the 4 lingua francas, or the 285 native languages" (p. 579).

Classrooms as Multilingual Speech Communities

If we take the advice of Kramsch and Cook seriously and make Cameroon or some such multilingual country our model, what would happen? What would it mean to "imagine" our classrooms as multilingual communities? What should the role of the L1 and the L2 be in foreign language classrooms? To answer these questions, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of how multilingual speakers use their various languages.

Language Use in Foreign Language and Bilingual Education

One of the primary areas of sociolinguistic inquiry is language choice, the study of why speakers choose one language rather than another in different social contexts (Fasold 1984, p. 180).[7] This sociolinguistic question is easily reworded for foreign language education research: Why do foreign language students/teachers choose one language rather than another in a given learning situation? (Faltis 1990). Or put differently, what are the pedagogical effects of language choice for foreign language study? Such

questions are rarely asked by foreign language professionals, presumably because teachers do not perceive the relevance of such questions to their praxis.

Norms of language use differ greatly from one multilingual society to the next. In some communities, speakers permit language mixing, while in other communities, speakers maintain a strict separation of the languages. For example, in so-called diglossic communities, different languages are reserved for specific linguistic functions and specific institutional contexts or domains, e.g., education, business, religion, etc.[8] The functional compartmentalization of languages in a diglossic community resembles many foreign language classrooms in American universities where teachers and students are careful to keep English and the target language separate. Milk (1990) refers to the strict separation of the L1 and the L2 among American second language teachers as "an article of faith" (p. 41). The mixing of languages is impossible in foreign language classrooms where the student's native language is interdicted. Whether the methodology is the direct method, the audiolingual method, or the communicative approach, today's language teacher often views the exclusive use of the target language in the classroom as a *sine qua non* for language learning.

On the other hand, while many teachers feel that the target language should be used exclusively in the classroom domain, they do not always practice what they preach. Zéphir and Chirol (1993) surveyed classroom language use among graduate student teaching assistants in beginning French courses at the University of Missouri and discovered that English and French were reportedly used for different topics in the classroom. English was often selected for explicit grammar explanations while French was chosen for communicative activities. In other words, code choice depended largely on discourse topic or communicative task. Many instructors switched to English when speaking about classroom management issues, e.g., grading procedures, changes to the syllabus, exam schedule. The results of the survey indicate a common contradiction with the foreign language teaching profession: Many teachers continue to speak English with their students while professing a belief in the exclusive classroom use of the target language.

The exclusive use of the target language in foreign language classrooms would seem to make eminent sense, particularly in contexts where students have few if any opportunities to encounter the target language outside of class. It would appear that teachers are simply trying to maximize their students' exposure to the target language, to immerse the students as it were. Yet beginning students are not always convinced that immersion is the best approach. In fact, they frequently report that the exclusive use of the target language raises their "affective filter." Zéphir and Chirol (1993) found in their survey of 300 students enrolled in beginning French that 80 percent preferred classroom instruction in both French and English. Cook (1992) notes that the exclusive use of the target language with beginning foreign language students is reminiscent of a now outdated technique used by teachers of deaf children. In a misguided effort to prevent deaf students from using sign language, teachers required children to sit on their hands thereby forcing them to use spoken language. Cook emphasizes that while teachers may banish the students' native language from the classroom, they can never banish it from their students' minds.

While surveys are interesting in that they uncover teachers' beliefs about their own language choice in the classroom, it is impossible to draw conclusions about *actual* language use based on survey data alone. In order to uncover patterns of natural language use and the possible motivations behind language choice, anthropologists (including ethnographers interested in classroom interaction) generally rely on a different methodology—participant observation. By using such a methodology, anthropologists have been able to document if and when switches from one language to another occur and in what ways the languages may or may not be mixed. In multilingual communities throughout the world, switching between two or more languages in daily discourse is typical (Blom and Gumperz 1972, Gal 1978, 1979, Myers-Scotton 1993a,b). This phenomenon commonly referred to as code-switching (CS), is defined by Valdés-Fallis (1978) as "the alternating use of two languages on the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level" (p. 1). Most scholars distinguish CS from linguistic interference and integration in that CS maintains the structural integrity of both languages. Valdés-Fallis (1978) gives the following examples from naturally occurring Chicano Spanish/English discourse:

(1) *Well, I keep starting some.* Como por un mes, todos los días escribo y ya dejo. *Last week*, empecé otra vez.

'Well, I keep starting some. For about a month I write every day and then I stop. Last week, I started again.' (p. 1)

In (1), CS occurs between sentences as well as within a sentence (intersentential and intrasentential switching). CS is usually distinguished from the process of borrowing which Valdés-Fallis (1978) illustrates in (2).

(2) Los muchachos están *puchando* la *troca*.

'The boys were pushing the truck.' (Valdés-Fallis 1978, p. 2)

In (2) the verb "push" has been borrowed from the English language and then adapted phonologically and morphologically to conform to the linguistic system of Spanish. Likewise, the word "troca," derived from the English word "truck," has undergone phonological and morphological assimilation. Valdés-Fallis (1978) emphasizes that such borrowings differ from CS "where all items are used exactly as they are found in the original" (p. 2). The distinction between CS and borrowing is problematic, however, since there exist intermediate phenomena that are difficult to categorize as in the following example from Cajun French discourse.

(3) J'ai *draw* mon *security*, pêché des écrevisses . . . et on a *enjoy* ça tu sais.

I withdrew my pension, fished some crawfish . . . and we enjoyed it, y'know.' (Blyth, forthcoming)

The problem that presents itself in (3) is single word switches such as *"enjoy"* which sound like English but lack the correct past tense inflection (e.g., enjoy+ed). Such structures with their anomalous morphology do not follow Valdes-Fallis' CS criterion that all lexical items be used exactly as they appear in the original language (Picone 1994).[9]

In (1), (2), and (3), CS is limited to a single speaker; however, in conversation, CS is quite common *between* speakers. For example, it is typical for parents to address their children in one language and for the children to respond in another language as in (4).

(4)	Adult:	*Cosa vuoi fare Lukas?*
		'What do you want to do, Lukas?'
	Francesca	ausgehe
		'go out'
	Luca	in de Wald
		'in the forest'
	Adult	Ja?
		'Yeah?'
	Luca	Ahhh, in der Wald
		'Ohh, in the forest.'
		(Auer 1984, p. 14)

The exchange in (4) is an excerpt from a bilingual conversation between members of an Italian "guest worker" family living in Germany. The mother, a native speaker of Italian, asks her children a question in Italian, but the children who have lived most of their lives in Germany respond in German. Notice that the mother switches to German too ("Ja?").

CS is often the unmarked or normal way to communicate in many multilingual communities (Myers-Scotton 1993b); in other words, it is not remarked upon as long as it occurs in an "appropriate context." Despite its widespread usage, however, CS is almost always stigmatized, even by those multilingual speakers who frequently switch themselves (Fasold 1984; Romaine 1989). This stigma is prevalent in the foreign language teaching profession as well. Even though most foreign language teachers are bilingual, they often subscribe to norms of monolingual discourse, which denigrate the mixing of languages—inside or outside the classrooms. Indeed, the mixing of languages is often assumed to lead inevitably to half-breed codes—"franglais" or "Spanglish."[10]

While the issues of language choice and CS have received relatively little attention in foreign language methodology, they have been centers of controversy in bilingual methodology (Durán 1981; Jacobson and Faltis 1990; Ramirez 1980). Jacobson (1990) claims that for many years bilingual educators supported the common sense view that language switching by teachers would confuse the students and lead to "cross-contamination." Such conventional wisdom, he points out, was felt to be so self-evident that it needed no empirical proof:

> As language separation would lead to the uncontaminated acquisition of either language, the concurrent use of both languages would lead to confusion, mixing and highly accented speech patterns in the target language. Whether this latter argument could actually be upheld, should have been supported by hard data but, unfortunately, no research project in the past has ever explored this issue. (p. 4)

According to Jacobson, there are approximately three basic patterns of language distribution or choice in bilingual education classes: submersion/immersion, separation, and concurrent. In submersion or immersion programs, only the target language is permitted in the classroom. In the other two approaches, both languages are used in instruction but in different ways. In separation approaches, languages are restricted to a specific teacher, a time of day, a place, or a particular content. For example, students may spend the morning speaking English and the afternoons speak-

ing Spanish; or students may only speak English in language arts and Spanish in other content areas, such as mathematics and science. Thus, the separation approach resembles a kind of pedagogical diglossia in which teachers decide the appropriate domains for the different languages.

The concurrent category is reserved for four different approaches, which allow both languages to be used in the classroom. Jacobson refers to these approaches respectively as flipflopping, concurrent translation, preview/review, and new concurrent approach (NCA). Flipflopping is essentially unrestricted CS, which may or may not include intrasentential switches. In (5), an example of flipflopping, CS occurs within the teacher's discourse as well as between speakers.

(5) "Flipflopping"

T: *¿Se recuerdan Uds. de lo que aprendimos about air? ¿Qué es lo que aprendimos* about air and weight?

S1: *Que el aire pesa.*

T: *Muy bien.* And what have we learned about air and space?

S2: *Que el aire ocupa espacio.*

T: *Excelente.*

T: 'Do you remember what we learned about air? What did we learn about air and weight?'

S1: 'That air has weight.'

T: 'Good. And what have we learned about air and space?'

S2: 'That air takes up space.'

T: 'Excellent'

(Jacobson 1990, p. 11)

Concurrent translation requires the teacher to give two versions of every sentence. The students may choose either language to communicate, but the teacher always uses both languages in a highly redundant manner. This approach amounts to saying the same thing twice—once in English and then in Spanish—as exemplified in (6).

(6) "Concurrent translation"

T: We learned yesterday that air has weight. *Ayer dijimos que el aire pesa.* And what have we learned about air and space? *¿Qué aprendimos acerca del aire y el espacio?*

(Jacobson 1990, p. 12)

The preview/review approach refers to the instructional practice of previewing a lesson in the child's vernacular and then switching to the target language for the heart of the lesson. At the end of the lesson, the teacher switches back to the child's dominant language for a review of the main points. And finally, the New Concurrent Approach (NCA), a teaching method pioneered by Jacobson, is a highly structured approach to classroom CS. The basic premise of NCA is that any attempt to exclude a student's L1 from the classroom is likely to result in a highly artificial learning environment. Moreover, such a practice is seen as a waste of a potentially important pedagogical resource—the L1. Jacobson (1983) gives four criteria on which language choice should be based.

1. Both languages are to be used for equal amounts of time;
2. The teaching of content is not to be interrupted;
3. The decision to switch between the two languages is in response to a consciously identified cue;
4. The switch must relate to a specific learning objective. (p. 120)

CS is constrained by two further requirements: 1) all switches are teacher-initiated; and 2) all switches must be intersentential. This last requirement is meant to safeguard against highly stigmatized language mixing of the kind found in Chicano Spanish ("Los muchachos están puchando la troca") and Cajun French ("On a enjoy ça") and thereby insure the structural integrity of the different codes. It should be apparent that NCA is a complicated proposition since it involves learning specific procedures for CS. Foreign language teachers who may be unfamiliar with CS would likely find it difficult indeed to monitor their language alternation in accordance with the sixteen CS cues prescribed by Jacobson (1981). Faltis (1990) groups Jacobson's sixteen CS cues into the four categories of Table 1: classroom strategies, curriculum, language development, and interpersonal relationships.

In essence, the cues serve as a teacher's criteria for deciding the appropriateness and effectiveness of CS during a given lesson. For example, CS may be used to break the fatigue and monotony that students often feel when listening to long stretches of the foreign language (4d, fatigue). The teacher may feel a switch to English is in order because the text is written

Table 1

The New Concurrent Approach Cue System

1. *Classroom strategies*	2. *Curriculum*
a. conceptual reinforcement	a. language appropriateness
b. review	b. topic
c. capturing of attention	c. text
d. praise/reprimand	
3. *Language development*	4. *Interpersonal relationships*
a. variable language dominance	a. intimacy/formality
b. lexical enrichment	b. courtesy
c. translatability	c. free choice
	d. fatigue
	e. self-awareness
	f. rapport

(Faltis 1990, p. 50)

in English (2c, text) or because the topic is closely related to American life/culture and therefore lends itself to discussion in English (2b, topic). Thus, CS is viewed as a valuable technique, that teachers are encouraged to master and use strategically throughout their lessons. Proponents of such an approach emphasize that CS should not be used simply for translation that, they claim, does not encourage students to develop appropriate listening skills in their less dominant language. NCA proponents also emphasize that teacher-initiated CS should always be motivated by a specific objective as exemplified in (7).

(7) "New Concurrent Approach (NCA)"

T: Do you remember what we have been learning about air? Robert, what have we learned about air and weight?

S1: . . . that air has weight.

T: Very good. Isela, what have we learned about air and space?

S2: . . . that air takes up space.

T: Very good.

T: (1b, Review) *¿Se recuerdan del experimento que hicimos el otro día con el vaso y la toallita de papel? Lorenzo, ¿me pueden decir lo que hicimos?*

S3: *Pusimos una toallita encima de un vaso y no se mojó el papel.*

T: *Muy bien, Lorenzo.*

T: (1a, Conceptual Reinforcement) Who can tell me now why the paper didn't get wet?

S4: . . . because the air in the cup didn't let the water into the napkin.

T: (1d, Praise) *Muy bien. Tú sí pusiste atención. El papel no se mojó porque el aire ocupa espacio y no permite que entre el agua.*

T: (2c, Text) Now, I want you to turn to page 18—a one and an eight—Here you will see another experiment.

T: '. . . Do you remember what we have been learning about air? Robert, what have we learned about air and weight?'

S1: '. . . that air has weight.'

T: 'Very good. Isela, what have we learned about air and space?'

S2: '. . . that air takes up space.'

T: 'Very good.'

T: 'Do you remember the experiment we did yesterday with the cup and paper napkin, Lorenzo? Can you tell me what we did?'

S3: 'We put the napkin around the cup and it didn't get wet.'

T: 'Good, Lorenzo.'

T: 'Who can tell me now why the paper didn't get wet?'

S4: '. . . because the air in the cup didn't let the water into the napkin.'

T: 'Very good. You certainly paid attention. The napkin didn't get wet because the air took up space and didn't let the water get through.'

T: 'Now, I want you to turn to page 18—a one and an eight—Here you will see another experiment.'

(Faltis 1990, pp. 50–53)

In (7) the teacher begins the day's lesson in English but switches to Spanish to review the main points of the previous day's lesson. After elicit-

ing the main points, she switches back to English to ask a question that reinforces and refines the basic concepts. When the correct answer is given, the teacher chooses to praise the student in Spanish, presumably to emphasize the praise. And finally, the teacher switches to English when referring to and reading an English text. In this kind of postmortem analysis of classroom behavior the teacher views herself on videotape and specifies her motives for all CS. Faltis (1990) claims that such a method is useful in training teachers to use the sixteen CS cues more successfully. He also notes that such a procedure might prove valuable to researchers who wish to understand the interactive nature of decision making in the classroom.

Foreign language educators who have experimented with the pedagogical potential of CS do not necessarily follow NCA or any specific approach taken from bilingual education. For example, Giauque and Ely (1990) have proposed a procedure for implementing CS at the beginning level of foreign language study that is based on the use of cognates. They argue that CS is a useful procedure that actually increases communication in the foreign language classroom:

> The basic principle of using code-switching in teaching foreign languages is that the teacher speaks the foreign language using many cognate words, and uses code-switching to communicate those words which are not cognates in the target language. As a result, students learn that it is possible to understand a great deal of the target language at a very early stage in their learning experience. From the outset, they are taught, indirectly, to listen for cognate words; the teacher's use of English words when cognates do not exist in the target languge provides additional contextual clues for understanding. We thus have the best of both worlds: students comprehend a large amount, while at the same time, the teacher uses English only quite sparingly. (Giauque and Ely 1990, pp. 174–75)

Giauque and Ely emphasize that CS should be used only in the very beginning of foreign language study when students have virtually no productive capacity in the target language. The procedure encourages students to communicate using any words or expressions they can produce in the target language. Whatever students cannot say or write in the target language, they are free to communicate in English. The result is a hybrid language—French cognates (mostly nouns and verbs) plugged into an English grammar matrix as in (8).

(8) 'Your *explication* is *difficile* to comprendre. *Je* am having *difficulté* with this learning *activité*. The *information* is *insuffisante*.' (Giauque and Ely 1990, p. 178)

Ironically, it is this kind of stigmatized admixture that most foreign language teachers and most bilingual educators take great pains to avoid. In fact, the kind of mixing exemplified in (8) is strictly forbidden in most bilingual approaches to CS. But Giauque and Ely point out that language mixing of this sort is short-lived and is intended to be used exclusively in the first month or so of beginning foreign language classes. They claim that this kind of hybrid language is a stage in students' language development that will quickly give way to stretches of extended discourse produced in the target language: ". . . after a few class periods, the students realize that the teacher is very serious about the use of 'Frenglish.' Soon, definite and indefinite articles begin to appear, not in English, but in French. Pronoun subjects also begin to appear as French words, as do some cognate words, and certain conjugations of the verb 'to be'. . . . From 5% (i.e., one French word for approximately two lines of English text) the amount of French increases to 10%, then 20%, and soon it is 33% to 50%" (p. 179).

To examine reactions to the procedure, Giauque and Ely conducted a pilot study with 30 students enrolled in a beginning French course at the University of Northern Arizona. The students were interviewed at regular intervals throughout the semester. Not surprisingly, most students had no prior knowledge of nor experience with CS and therefore found its initial use in the classroom highly unusual. In fact, most students worried that such a teaching method would lead to "bad habits." However, students who were skeptical at the beginning of the year gradually increased their use of CS in class and soon reported positive feelings about the effectiveness of the technique. Giauque and Ely state that the most important finding of their study was this significant positive change in student attitude toward CS. In terms of further research, the authors suggest that more foreign language professionals should "make an unbiased examination of the usefulness of the CS procedure" in order to uncover the effects of CS on student achievement (p. 183).

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L1 in L2 Learning: Scaffolding, Private Speech, and Mental Translation

While the literature on CS in the foreign language classroom may be limited, there is a large and growing body of research that explores the role of the L1 in second language acquisition. For example, the study of so-called cross-linguistic influence has long been central to the fields of second language acquisition, contact linguistics, and historical linguistics. However, these fields have been limited the past to posthoc studies of linguistic development. In other words, in the comparative method of historical linguistics as well as the early methods of applied linguistics, such fields as contrastive analysis and error analysis shared a common reliance on structural, linguistic facts with little reference to social and psychological factors. Recent approaches to transfer in second language acquisition, on the other hand, have made room for nonstructural factors. Odlin (1989) reviews several studies that show that a speaker's metalinguistic awareness and social awareness can affect the transfer of grammatical structures from the L1 to the L2.

In a further attempt to move beyond a purely structural or linguistic approach to second language acquisition, researchers have paid increasing attention to learning as "situated activity" (Lave and Wenger 1991):

> Learning viewed as situated activity has as its central defining characteristic a process that we call legitimate peripheral participation. By this we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community. (p. 29)

This new perspective seeks an integration of the sociolinguistic and pyscholinguistic paradigms wherein learning is viewed as a "process that takes place in a participation framework, not in an individual mind" (Hanks 1991, p. 15).

Researchers who adopt this perspective shift their focus from the product, the so-called acquired structures, to the process of acquisition. In this vein, Donato (1994) describes a research practice called "microgenetic analysis." He defines microgenesis as "the gradual course of skill acquisition during a training session, experiment, or interaction" (p. 38). In a microgenetic analysis of learner behavior, the researcher pays close attention to all details of an interaction: intonational contours, eye gaze, hesitations, gestures, etc. None of these details can be ignored since they may

potentially give important clues to a learner's consciousness. Thus, phenomena such as CS or, more generally, the use of the L1 in interaction may provide important insights into the development of second language competence. This discursive, sociocultural approach to human cognition is closely associated with the Russian psychologist Vygotsky.

> For Vygotsky (1986), consciousness is *co-knowledge*; the individual dimension of consciousness is derivatory and secondary. To account for this phenomenon requires studies that capture the evolving and dynamic features of interaction that allow individuals to change and be changed by the concrete particulars of their social context (Rommetveit 1985). This perspective differs fundamentally from the current view that maintains that social interactions provide opportunities to supply linguistic input to learners who develop solely on the basis of their internal language processing mechanisms. (Donato 1994, p. 38)

Implicit in such an approach is the rejection of the causal link between input and acquisition. In the strong version of the input hypothesis, comprehensible input brings about language acquisition; in the weaker version, comprehensible input facilitates acquisition. Platt and Brooks (1994) take issue with such an input model of language learning as simplistic and reductionist. They claim that the input hypothesis perpetuates a spurious model of communication based on information processing which is itself founded on the questionable metaphor of language as a container. Such a metaphor equates linguistic messages to packages that contain information. In this conception of communication, the speaker sends a package of information, a message, to the listener who promptly unwraps the package and takes out the information. Platt and Brooks point out that speakers sometimes direct their comments to themselves and not to others (people sometimes send packages to themselves). More important, the container metaphor of language suggests that meaning remains invariant during transmission from speaker to listener. Recent work in discourse analysis characterizes meaning not as the static product of an individual mind but rather the result of a dynamic and collaborative effort. The terms "negotiation of meaning" and "co-construction of meaning" are frequently used to capture this new view of communication within the field of discourse analysis (Schiffrin 1994). Finally, communication as information processing ignores the role speech plays in mediating cognitive functioning as emphasized in Vygotskian approaches to second language acquisition.[11]

Predicated on the input hypothesis and an information processing model of communication is the conventional belief of foreign language

teachers that the more students are exposed to the target language, the more language they will acquire. This prevalent belief elevates the *quantity* of input above all other possible qualitative factors in second language acquisition. Milk argues (1990) that the question of which language to use in the classroom should not be framed in terms of 'how much' of which language, but rather "in what manner and in what context each language is used, and what kinds of interactions students are involved in when using the language" (p. 38). Researchers who study first and second language discourse have proposed the metaphor of scaffolding to describe the interactions between learners and teachers (or more generally, between nonnative and native speakers). Cazden (1988) provides a helpful illustration of scaffolding from everyday life:

> Imagine a picture of an adult holding the hand of a very young toddler with the caption, "Everyone needs a helping hand." . . . The child does what he or she can and the adult does the rest; the child's practice occurs in the context of the full performance; and the adult's help is gradually withdrawn (from holding two hands to just one, then to offering only a finger, and then withdrawing that a few inches, and so on) as the child's competence grows. (p. 102)

Hatch (1978, 1983) was one of the first researchers to note that L2 learners rely on "experts" to supply them with L2 structures that are missing from their repertoire. In essence, learners build their sentences by adding on to the linguistic scaffolding supplied by the native speakers. The resulting discourse is therefore described as "jointly constructed." The metaphor of scaffolding is a powerful one and has been used to describe learner behavior in various fields other than L1 and L2 acquisition. The term originated in the field of cognitive psychology where it was used to describe the "conditions in which the novice can participate in, and extend, current skills and knowledge to higher levels of competence" (Donato 1994, p. 40). Donato (1994) cites Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976) who characterize scaffolding as performing six important functions:

1. recruiting interest in the task,
2. simplifying the task,
3. maintaining pursuit of the goal,
4. marking critical features and discrepancies between what has been produced and the ideal solution,

5. controlling frustration during problem solving, and
6. demonstrating an idealized version of the act to be performed. (p. 41)

In recent studies, the concept of scaffolding has been extended to learners who are engaged in group work without the aid of an expert (Donato 1994; Platt and Brooks 1994). Donato (1994) claims that under certain conditions, learners will engage in "dialogically constituted guided support, or collective scaffolding" (p. 53). He gives an example of such collective scaffolding in (9).

(9) Speaker 1 . . . and then I'll say. . . *tu as souvenu notre anniversaire de mariage* . . . or should I say *mon anniversaire?*
Speaker 2 *Tu as* . . .
Speaker 3 *Tu as* . . .
Speaker 1 *Tu as souvenu* . . . you remembered?
Speaker 3 Yea, but isn't that reflexive? *Tu t'as*
Speaker 1 Ah, *tu t'as souvenu.*
Speaker 2 Oh, it's *tu es*
Speaker 1 *Tu es*
Speaker 3 *tu es, tu es, tu* . . .
Speaker 1 *T'es, tu t'es*
Speaker 3 *tu t'es*
Speaker 1 *Tu t'es souvenu.*
(p. 44)

In this interaction between three students in a third-semester French course at an American university, the students collaborate to arrive at the correct French translation of "you remembered" (*Tu t'es souvenu*). Speaker 3 contributes the important information that the verb *souvenir* is reflexive but then selects the wrong auxiliary (**Tu t'as*). Speaker 2 next provides the correct form of the auxiliary (Oh, it's *tu es*). Finally, Speaker 1 synthesizes the two pieces of grammatical information, i.e., reflexive verbs require *être* as auxiliary. According to Donato, this brief interaction is evidence that learners seek out information from other learners for use in the construction of subsequent utterances. He notes that the learners' interaction is characterized by many of the functions typically ascribed to scaffolding in the literature: marking critical features of discrepancies between what has

been produced and the perceived ideal solution, and minimizing frustration and risk by relying on the collective resources of the group. Donato emphasizes that scaffolding occurs during nonstructured tasks when the negotiation of form and meaning is required. He provides several examples of scaffolding similar to (9) in which the L1 is used by the learners. It appears then that the L1 constitutes an essential part of collective scaffolding in L2 discourse.

Platt and Brooks (1994) state that the L1 is frequently used when L2 students are faced with a demanding task that requires problem solving. In their analysis of the language produced by university-level third-semester Spanish students engaged in an information gap activity, Platt and Brooks discovered that students frequently talk to themselves in the L1 during a given interaction. In Vygotskian theory, this kind of thinking aloud is called "private speech" and is considered to be "an instrument of thought in the proper sense . . . as it aids the individual in seeking and planning the solution of a problem" (Vygotsky 1986, p. 31). McCafferty (1994) reviews the major findings of studies on private speech in adult L2 learners and concludes that it performs important cognitive, social, and affective functions. Platt and Brooks (1994) give the following example of private speech from their data.

(10) Private Speech

10a J: *¿qué tienes?*
K: *tienen un [vi] um que con con- con- tina contina para un espacio* (whisper to self) how do you say that above

J: 'What do you have?'
K: 'They have [vi] um that "con con- con- tain contains" for a space (whisper to self) how do you say that above'

10b J: *sí*
K: *y segundo [linéa] es a a la tre tres tres um* (to self) how would you say that *en en la tiempo es* (incomprehensible) *es la tres*
J: *tres*
K: (to self) hm it's not making sense

J: 'yes'
K: 'and second [line] is is three um (to self) how would you say that at the time is (incomprehensible) it's three'
J: 'three'
K: (to self) 'hm it's not making sense'

10c K: yes *sí*
J: *¿qué?*
K: *tengo uh uh* (to self) geez how do I say this *cuarto cientos um cuartos uno dos tres cuarto cientos mmm cuatro ciento ciento diez dólares y um quince*
J: *cuatro cien y diez*
K: *cuatro*

K: 'yes yes'
J: 'What?'
K: 'I have uh uh (to self) geez how do I say this four hundred um four one two three four hundreds mmm four hundred hundred ten dollars and um fifteen'
J: 'four hundred and ten'
K: 'four'
(Platt and Brooks 1994, p. 507)

Platt and Brooks claim that K's frequent whispering is not intended for her interlocutor but rather serves to regulate her own cognition. They point out that private speech does not fit into an information-processing model of communication since the message, in this case, is not intended to be "processed" by the interlocutor. Besides private speech, Platt and Brooks also find other uses of the L1 embedded in L2 learner discourse, namely "situation definition" and "metatalk." Learners frequently switch to the L1 when attempting to define for themselves a learning task or situation ("What are we supposed to be doing here?") and when they comment on their own speech production ("Let me think of another way to say this."). Platt and Brooks conclude that teachers should pay closer attention to the ways students use language while performing various so-called communicative activities:

> This is especially crucial with respect to the use of L1, which, as we have seen, is really the only mediational tool fully available to learners, especially at the lower proficiency levels, for solving the kinds of problems we have seen in these various examples of talk.(p. 509)

Researchers in L2 reading have recently been asking similar questions about the role of the native language in text comprehension. Kern (1994) contends that foreign language teachers realize the inevitability of mental translation whenever beginning students read L2 texts. And yet, despite

the ubiquity of mental translation, both teachers and students alike view it as an "undesirable crutch". In an attempt to uncover the uses of mental translation in the process of L2 text comprehension, Kern performed a "think-aloud" protocol on fifty-one intermediate-level French students who were asked to verbalize their thoughts while simultaneously reading a French text. He found that beginning L2 readers make strategic use of the L1 whenever cognitive or memory limits are exceeded. He therefore suggests "that translation is not always an undesirable habit to be discouraged at all costs, but rather, an important developmental aspect of L2 comprehension processes" (p. 442).

Monolingual Norms vs. Multilingual Norms

Recognizing the potential benefit of the L1 in foreign language learning, whether it is in class discussions, in communicative activities, or even in reading, will likely remain difficult for teachers wedded to the orthodoxy of foreign language methodology. Even if teachers do recognize the potential cognitive benefits of the L1 as demonstrated in the research literature, they will probably not find such benefits compelling enough to forego long-standing teaching methods founded on the principle of language separation, a principle based on Western ideologies of linguistic and cultural purity. In other words, before they can embrace the seemingly radical metaphor of the classroom as a multicultural/multilingual community, teachers must understand Cazden's important observation that all classroom practice—including foreign language methodology as practiced in American universities—"are cultural phenomena, not 'natural' in any sense . . . " (Cazden 1988, p. 67). Next, they must understand that the metaphor of the classroom as a multilingual community may actually help them present a more realistic picture of the foreign culture.

Presenting a realistic picture of any culture is a difficult challenge. Unfortunately, it is further complicated by current textbooks that represent an idealized version of the foreign culture and language. As Heilenman (1993) and Kramsch (1987) both point out, inaccuracies are understandable given that textbooks are the product of many competing forces—the authors, the American educational market, the publishing companies (typically American), etc. In an examination of twelve current college textbooks for first year French, Wieczorek (1994) found that "areas other than France" constituted a mere 5% of a given text's content (p. 495). Ramirez and Hall (1990) found virtually the same situation in a review of five Spanish secondary texts:

> . . . the majority of Spanish-speaking countries are underrepresented in the texbooks examined. In addition, no text contains significant representations of the Spanish-speaking groups living in the United States. . . All but a few of the photographs of all five textbooks examined depict the middle to upper classes, a segment which represents, in reality, a very small percentage of the Spanish-speaking population. (p. 63)

It is obvious that such texts leave students with a distorted reflection of the French-speaking and Spanish-speaking worlds and that such distortion may perpetuate absurd American myths about foreign cultures. One of the most insidious but least recognized myths that such textbooks perpetuate is the myth of cultural and linguistic homogeneity, the myth that foreign language speakers are "unified subjects." While there are encouraging signs of a multicultural trend in textbook publication, most foreign language textbooks depict foreign personages—real or imagined—as bearing a striking resemblance to Chomsky's "ideal speaker-listener"; they inhabit a homogeneous speech-community and they know the language perfectly. In other words, the people populating textbooks are almost always monolingual native speakers—monolingual Parisians, monolingual Berliners, monolingual Madrileños. To most foreign language teachers and students such a practice seems "natural"; Kramsch (forthcoming) claims that foreign language education "has traditionally been *predicated* on the distinction between native speaker and nonnative speaker." Most people generally assume that learning a foreign language is nothing more than learning the rules of the native speaker, "the norm against which the [nonnative] speaker's performance is measured" (p. 2). But if teachers were to imagine their students as *incipient bilinguals* belonging to a multilingual speech community, could they reasonably ask students to adhere to monolingual norms of language use?

Monolingual native speaker norms are inappropriate for foreign language students for a very simple reason: They are impossible, unattainable goals. This is not to deny the possibility of native-like or ultimate attainment by second language learners as reported in the literature (Birdsong 1992). Rather, the point is that monolingual speakers make curious behavioral models for students striving to overcome their own monolingualism. It is obvious to students that they will never be those mythical monolingual Parisians or Berliners or Madrileños. A more suitable norm (although a vastly more complicated one) would be based on bilingual French/English speakers, German/English speakers, and Spanish/English speakers. By making bilingual competence the yardstick against which

teachers measure their students' progress, teachers could demonstrate to students that *partial competence* is also of virtue. Teachers (as well as textbook authors and publishers) continue to underestimate the profoundly beneficial impact of hearing the voices of *nonnative speakers of a foreign language*. A Cambodian, a Senegalese, a Tunisian or, for that matter, an American, who speaks French well enough to be interviewed on television by a French journalist sends a more encouraging message to students than do a thousand Parisians whose flawless, monolingual French is simply their birthright. In other words, adopting a different set of language norms can have a felicitous effect on our students' motivation: Bilingual norms encourage students to see their "competence glass" as half-full whereas monolingual norms make them see their glasses as half-empty.[12] Moreover, the inclusion of nonnative speakers is essential in helping students to realize that languages are spoken in a wide array of dialects and proficiencies (Wieczorek 1991, 1994).

Students are not the only ones, however, who gain a new perspective on language learning by embracing multilingual norms. Such norms can be empowering for the nonnative teacher as well. Kramsch entreats language teachers to see nonnative speakers (whether they are students or teachers) not in terms of their shortcomings, but rather in terms of their unique contributions to a multicultural world. Examining the writings of prominent multilingual authors, Kramsch (forthcoming) asserts that being a nonnative speaker is "a prerogative, a right, and even a privilege": "Their story is not one of laborious approximation to someone else's norm, nor does it need to be one of loss of linguistic or cultural identity. More and more they, not monolinguals, are becoming the norm of language use."

Curriculum Development: An Anecdote

The metaphor of the foreign language classroom as a multilingual community takes on special significance as foreign language educators seek to open up the study of languages and cultures to a more diverse group of students. A distinguishing feature of multilingual communities is the existence of ethnic and linguistic diversity. In similar fashion, foreign language classrooms are characterized by tremendous linguistic diversity. The constant challenge facing teachers is to create a sense of belonging, a sense of community, despite very real differences in their students' L2 proficiencies. Creating a sense of community in the classroom is further complicated in language programs that attempt to cross disciplinary boundaries, for example in content-based language programs and in languages-across-the-curriculum programs (Allen, Anderson, and Narváez 1992).

Intrigued by the parallels between multilingual communities and foreign language classrooms, I attempted to merge the two, to create such a community in a course on the ethnography of Francophone Louisiana at Louisiana State University. The course was the result of a grant from the Louisiana Department of Education for the development of a curriculum focusing on the state's French heritage.[13] The grant monies allowed me to "import the real world" into the classroom by inviting a variety of guest lecturers: Cajun and Creole writers, musicians, cooks, educators, storytellers, etc. As a culminating exercise, students were required to conduct taped interviews of local francophone residents, which they later transcribed.

I had not specified any prerequisite in the course catalogue and, as a consequence, many students chose it as an elective. The students who enrolled in the course represented a staggering diversity of academic backgrounds and linguistic proficiencies. In general, the students fell into three groups: French majors who understood standard French but not the Cajun dialect, nonmajors of Cajun origin whose proficiency in standard French was extremely limited, and three exchange students from France who understood Cajun French but not Cajun English. Reasoning that the linguistic diversity of the classroom was an example of the very phenomenon that the course proposed to examine, I decided to accept all students who had enrolled. I began the course by having the students examine videotapes of conversations between French/English bilinguals so they could see how meaning was negotiated in both languages. During class I made a conscious effort to switch languages myself: I spoke in English whenever taking an anglophone American perspective and in French whenever taking a Cajun perspective. I also switched whenever I thought that some students had not understood. As the weeks passed however, I became much less conscious of my own linguistic behavior.

At first, only the most fluent French speakers dared to open their mouths; and when they did, they invariably spoke in French. A few sessions later, a visibly frustrated nonmajor finally asked permission to speak in English. When I granted her permission, she asked a question that another student answered—in French. And so it went throughout the entire semester, the students switching languages according to their own needs and desires. On a few rare occasions, I drew attention to our code-switching in order to illustrate a communicative pattern prevalent in the bilingual community. Otherwise, I never commented on the practice of

"overt bilingualism," which we had tacitly adopted at the beginning and maintained throughout the semester. On course evaluations, most students commented that the bilingualism was an essential ingredient of the course, especially since it reflected the speech community under study. More important, nonmajors wrote that the occasional use of English had created just enough of a "scaffold" for them to participate successfully in class. In the words of one student, "using English as support allowed nonmajors like me to stay afloat." However, differences in the students' proficiency levels did not magically disappear, rather they were partially neutralized. The nonmajors compensated for their linguistic deficiencies by their intimate background knowledge of the culture. On several occasions, it turned out to be the nonmajors who "explained" the assigned readings to the linguistically more proficient majors on whom many cultural allusions were lost. And surprisingly, both French majors and nonmajors alike agreed that their ability to speak and comprehend spoken French (standard and dialect) had increased as a result of the course.

This anecdote is not offered as a general model for other foreign language teachers to follow. Rather, it is intended as a specific example of how teachers may change their curriculum and practice by changing the "metaphors they teach by." Be that as it may, skeptical teachers may point out, quite rightly, that this course is based on an experience occurring in an area of the country where there are a great many speakers of French, a circumstance that is unusual, if not extraordinary, in the United States. On the other hand, there are many immigrant communities throughout the United States that are readily available to foreign language educators: Hispanic, Portuguese, Haitian, Italian, Pennsylvania German, etc. Foreign language teachers will have to decide for themselves how best to use these largely untapped resources. Many teachers are likely to have misgivings about exposing students to such nonstandard dialects. Frye and Garza (1992) acknowledge that while contact with these immigrant speech communities poses some problems, the rewards greatly outweigh the risks: ". . . opportunities such as these provide a level of authentic contact that can be richly rewarding and ought to be exploited to the maximum, to increase understanding and appreciation of these communities in our midst" (p. 232).

Conclusion

While the metaphor of the multilingual community is useful in helping educators redefine the boundaries of language study, it is not without its problems. It could be argued that students do not see themselves as belonging to a social group in the same way that members of a speech community do. Their allegiance to their chosen language is frequently superficial; in fact, the choice of a language is often due to the arbitrariness of a student's schedule ("I signed up for German but it conflicts with my chemistry lab so I switched to Spanish."). Teachers may also wonder if it isn't downright ludicrous to refer to beginning language students as bilinguals, even when qualified as "incipient." And finally, foreign language educators could easily take exception to the "deconstruction" of the native speaker category, a category on which rests many long-held assumptions.

A response to these reasonable counter-arguments comes from Cazden (1988) who advises teachers to understand the limits and assumptions of any metaphor used to describe classroom practice. Cazden points out that metaphors, by nature, serve to highlight similarities but may completely disregard or ignore important differences. For this reason, she cautions educators that they must not forget the particularities of the classroom when invoking metaphors. Thus, the metaphor of community as it applies to the classroom refers to "a community of people who are changing, and whose change the environment should be specifically designed to support" (p. 198). Furthermore, the classroom-as-a-multilingual-community metaphor must be taken in the spirit in which it is used here—as a heuristic, a tool to help educators explore the conventional wisdom that holds curricular boundaries in their places. Cognitive scientists have recently argued that metaphor is not simply a figurative device restricted to literary discourse but rather an essential building block of human cognition (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Thus, the metaphors foreign language educators use tell much about how they conceive of their profession and their classroom practice.

As for the problem of seeing students as bilinguals rather than as "aspiring monolinguals," to use Kramsch's aptly caustic phrase, I think it is time that foreign language educators reevaluate the received categories *native speaker* and *nonnative speaker*. The linguistic establishment has concluded that there is no simple method by which to prove that two speakers have the same grammatical competence. Neither has the sociolinguistic establishment a simple metric for determining native speakership (Davies 1991). It seems that we have no choice but to accept our most basic concepts as fuzzy, their boundaries as blurred. This is a most difficult choice since it is human inclination to prefer categories with discrete boundaries (Lakoff 1987). One may ask what the point of a boundary is if not to

demonstrate unequivocally what things are in and what things are out. The metaphor of the multilingual speech community emphasizes the reality of being both in and out at the same time. It also indicates the suspicion and even derision directed at speakers who straddle the linguistic and cultural line.

Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) state that "the exciting challenge for teachers and learners of a second language, from a cultural perspective, is to construct a context for creative and meaningful discourse by taking full advantage of the rich personal, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of all the participants" (p. 203). It is unfortunate that current curricular and methodological "boundaries" of foreign language education prohibit teachers from taking full advantage of this richness. At present, the foreign language teaching profession is caught between a monolingual ideology and a multilingual reality. Students are likely to find foreign language courses increasingly irrelevant and anachronistic unless teachers can find ways to address the growing cultural and linguistic diversity inside and outside their classrooms. It is time to "reimagine" our classroom communities. It is time to see students as they are—as multilingual nonnative speakers—and to encourage in them the unique linguistic adaptability that is the hallmark of multilingualism.

Notes

1. This article is a longer version of a paper by a similar title presented at the ACTFL/AAUSC meeting in Atlanta, November 1994. My thanks to Claire Kramsch and two anonymous readers for their helpful suggestions. Thanks also to Keith Walters for bringing to my attention Benedict Anderson's important insight that communities are essentially products of the human imagination. Any remaining problems are mine.
2. Attempts to determine who belongs to a speech community based on self-perceptions or the perceptions of others run into difficulties too. For example, in francophone Louisiana as in many bilingual communities speakers move back and forth between Cajun French, Louisiana Creole, and American English according to communicative need. Under such fluid conditions, self- and other-perceptions of membership are often in conflict. For example, it is not unusual for speakers to identify themselves as Creole speakers when in fact their first language variety is more appropriately classified as French (according to linguistic criteria). The converse has been reported too—informants who say they are French speakers when in fact their language variety is actually closer to Creole (Tentchoff 1975; Valdman, forthcoming).
3. McLaughlin (1985) and Cazden (1988) include several classic ethnographic studies of classroom interaction. Johnson (1992) discusses the usefulness of ethnographic methods in her survey of approaches to second language research.
4. The survey conducted by Abbé Grégoire reported that in 1789 only three million of the twenty-six million French population fully understood French (Ager 1990, p. 16)
5. English only advocates have claimed that the English language is in need of protection from immigrants who refuse to learn English unlike previous generations of immigrants who assimilated quickly to English monolingual norms. The claim is leveled primarily at Spanish-speaking populations who insist on special language services like bilingual education and bilingual ballots. Such claims, however, are at odds with the facts uncovered in the Latino National Political Survey. The survey, undertaken in 1990 and released in 1992, was conducted under the auspices of the Ford, Rockefeller, Spencer, and Tinker Foundations. According to the survey, Spanish-speaking Americans overwhelmingly feel that it is important to learn English. In fact, the survey shows that the majority of the Latino population already considers itself to be English-speaking. As Fraga et al. (1994, p. 13) point out, monolingual Americans simply do not understand how Latinos claim to support the learning of English, while simultaneously supporting the use of two languages in education and the expenditure of tax dollars to provide public services in Spanish. To bilingual Latinos, however, there is no contradiction. Latino parents simply wish for their children to belong to both cultures and to speak both languages, in other words, to inhabit the same bilingual world as they.
6. Fraga et al. (1994) describe the world-wide multilingual situation in these terms: "In the approximately 160 nation states in the world today, 5,000–8,000 ethnic groups and more than 4,000 distinct languages exist. Obviously, few nations indeed are either monolingual or mono-ethnic. Each has groups living within its borders who do not speak the societal language, who may speak it with limitations, or who interact in other languages in addition to or instead of the national language" (p. 11).

7. The notion of choice is not limited to the category "language." Speakers may also choose between dialects or even registers of a single dialect. Indeed, speaker choice is at the heart of all questions surrounding linguistic variation.
8. The term diglossia comes from the French word *diglossie* as used by the French linguist Marçais. The seminal article on diglossia is Ferguson (1959). Fishman (1967) later expanded and modified Ferguson's original ideas. Ferguson, for his part, continues to refine the concept of diglossia (Ferguson 1990). It is important to note that diglossia does not imply bilingualism per se. For example, in Haiti, a diglossic society, only a small percentage of the population is proficient in both Haitian Creole and French. The large majority of Haitians who are monolingual Creole speakers find themselves excluded from activities that require French.
9. At present, it is unclear if borrowing and CS are distinguishable based on phonological and morphosyntactic criteria (see Myers-Scotton 1993a for an in-depth treatment of the grammatical aspects of code-switching). Picone (1994) argues for an intermediate category in which grammatical structures may share properties of borrowing and code-switching. He gives many examples of such code-intermediate phenomena from Louisiana French: Il a *retire* ('He retired'); J'ai *drive* en ville ('I drove to town'); J'ai *ride* sur le bike ('I rode on the bike') (p. 323).
10. Given this widespread negative attitude toward language mixing, it is surprising to find intrasentential code-switching in a recent first-year French textbook entitled *«J'veux bien!»*. Examples of such code-switching in the text are restricted to two cartoon characters, Gaston and Gigi, who introduce themselves to the reader as guides who address the student directly through the text: "We'll be offering you models and explanations that we hope will answer many of the questions you may have about French" (Bragger and Rice 1994, p. 2). The code-switching is always set off by quotation marks and clearly recognizable as belonging to an informal oral register:

> **Bien entendu** *(Of course)*, all French houses are not the same. **Chez moi, par exemple**, we have **une terrasse** behind the house and **une cave à vin** *(wine cellar)* in the basement. **Chez Gigi**, there are **des balcons** off the second story windows, her parents have **un bureau** *(a study)*, and there's also une **chambre d'ami**, where I've stayed lots of times. (Bragger and Rice 1994, p. 95)

11. For an overview of Vygotskian sociocultural theory as it applies to second language acquisition, see Frawley and Lantolf 1985; Lantolf and Appel 1994.
12. My point in invoking the container metaphor of the half-empty/half-full glass is simply to show how different norms lead to different language learner attitudes. I am aware that much has been written about the inappropriateness of the container metaphor as applied to bilingual competence (cf. Romaine 1989).
13. The proposal was entitled "Teaching Language and Culture Through Local Resources: A Curriculum on French Louisiana" and was funded through a grant from the Quality Education Fund of the Louisiana State Department of Education (1991–1992).

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A Framework for Investigating the Effectiveness of Study Abroad Programs

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Introduction

As institutions of higher education become more aware of the need to develop higher levels of foreign language skill, the traditional model of university-level foreign language instruction, in which the study of language *per se* (as opposed to literature), is concentrated in the first two years, requires re-examination. This, together with the burgeoning research in second language acquisition (SLA) over the past two decades, has led to a renewed attention to alternative models of delivery, models that incorporate features believed to contribute to foreign language proficiency. These include the addition of task-based, communication-oriented interactional components to the curriculum, summer intensive courses and year-round learning, and academic discipline-based courses offered in the target language.

Study abroad (SA) programs are also receiving increased attention from administrators, teachers, and researchers for at least two reasons. First, they are a common component of many foreign language programs across the country. Lambert reports that "a substantial number of higher-education institutions maintain study abroad programs for their students, and one in three four-year institutions operate language programs either on their own or as part of a consortium" (1994, p. 135). Second, by their very nature SA programs subsume many features of these alternative delivery models. Students in a junior year abroad program, for example, are often expected to take courses in the major or minor in the target language. A program designed for a graduate level student pursuing an

advanced degree in a specialized area might include an intensive foreign language component. But the central trait of all SA programs aimed at increasing foreign language proficiency is the opportunity they provide for informal out-of-class exposure to the target language.

The benefit of informal out-of-class exposure to the target language for the development of second language proficiency is more than a common folk belief. It is also a question of central concern for SLA theory. It has been shown that in conversations with second language learners, native speakers adjust their speech in order for both parties to better understand what is meant (e.g., Ferguson 1971, 1975; Freed 1978; Long 1981). This "negotiation of meaning" not only facilitates understanding, it is now commonly believed among many researchers that "conversational interaction forms the basis for the development of syntax" (Gass and Selinker 1994, p. 216). While informal exposure without instruction may not be sufficient for successful second language learning, there is support for the position that in combination with formal instruction, it helps learners to develop greater second language proficiency (cf. Ellis 1994, p. 616).

Since Carroll's (1967) report that time spent abroad was one of the major predictors of foreign language proficiency among 2,782 college seniors, it has been assumed that the out-of-class contact afforded by the SA experience was to a large extent responsible for this finding. Yet despite the importance of data from SA programs for important issues in SLA and foreign language education, research into the linguistic effects of SA is only beginning to emerge (see, for example, Brecht and Walton 1994; Freed 1995a). It is precisely because they deal directly with these SLA issues, and because of the dearth of empirical data available, that SA program administrators, teachers, and researchers must look, not only at their own programs but also at the range of programs confronting these same issues. More broadly, this includes language learning situations that involve some form of informal learning within a target language context, such as immersion bilingual programs and the experiences of immigrants and foreign students in this country. Toward this end, this paper will outline a framework for assessing SA programs, review published research on the effectiveness of SA programs within this framework, and identify some possible directions for future research in this area.

The Architecture of Institutional Types

Of course, universities comprise only a part, albeit a major part of the "national architecture" (Lambert 1994) of overseas study in this country.

Within the formal K–16 system, foreign exchange programs, such as those sponsored by the American Field Service (AFS), provide SA experiences for secondary school students. The federal government is involved in SA with programs such as the Peace Corps (Gunterman 1995, 1992a, 1992b) and the Foreign Service Institute. A system of private language schools also offers SA experiences for American students of all ages. At the informal level, there are the experiences of individuals who go abroad for the purpose of increasing foreign language proficiency, but without enrolling in any form of formal language instruction.

Conversely, not all SA programs include a foreign language instructional component. Exchange programs to other English-speaking countries most immediately come to mind, but other programs, offered in non-English-speaking countries, may import *in toto* the curriculum from the home institution, including the native language as a medium of instruction. In programs with a foreign language instructional component, that component may be intensive or not. Among programs with non-intensive foreign language components, some offer companion courses in the major or minor field or area of concentration in English to the American students isolated from their counterparts in the host country institutions. Others expect students to fill out their schedule with courses from the regular offerings of the host country institution with the target language as the medium of instruction. Intensive overseas foreign language programs usually do not allow time for the study of other subject areas.

With the exception of the example of SA programs to English speaking countries, what all of these language learning situations have in common, with or without formal instruction, is the opportunity for informal language learning outside of the language classroom. With respect to the development of FL proficiency, this is the defining issue in SA programs. Thus, the first step in outlining a framework for SA experiences is to establish an architecture of institutional types (Figure 1).

Each of these systems has counterparts or near counterparts in other parts of the world (cf. Coleman et al. 1991, cited in Freed 1995a; Regan 1995). The foreign exchange experience, for example, is available to secondary students in many countries (cf. Lussier et al. 1993; Marriott 1995), and Canada's provincial exchange program offers a similar program within that bilingual country (cf. Lapkin et al. 1995).

In looking at the effectiveness of SA programs for the development of foreign language proficiency, it is necessary to consider the findings from all language learning situations that provide opportunities for informal

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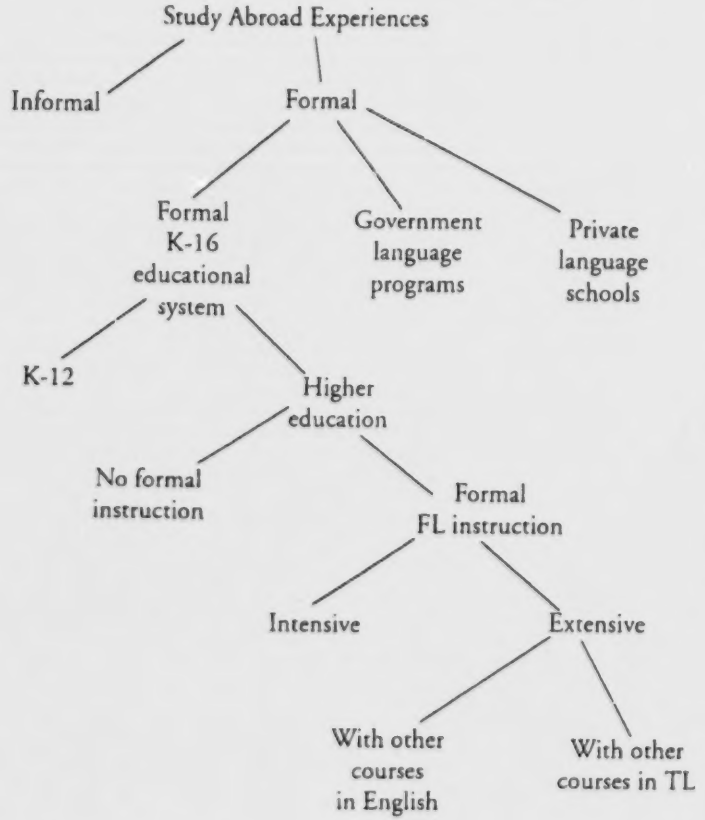
Figure 1

A Taxonomy of Institutional Types Providing Study Abroad Experiences



language learning. At the same time, one cannot lose sight of the variation among these program types with respect to philosophies, goals, student demographics, program design, and assessment, what will be referred to here as the language learning situation.

Program Goals

Implicit in the various program types are different goals for students enrolled in them. Brecht and Walton (1994) suggest that the goals of SA

programs, whether under the auspices of a university or university consortium, a private language school, or a government training program, fall into two broad categories: those goals that they call "broadly educational," and those that are directed at foreign language proficiency. Broadly educational goals include the benefits derived from a general cultural experience in a foreign country, the promotion of international understanding and increased knowledge or expertise in a particular discipline or concentration. SA programs whose goals are exclusively broadly educational do not include a language study component.

For some of these programs, no foreign language proficiency is required. These include SA programs in other English-speaking countries, as well as overseas programs in other environments that require no foreign language proficiency. Examples include some AFS programs in Scandinavia or Asia or those SA programs in which "students are taught in English by faculty from the home institution" (Brecht and Walton 1994, pp. 217–18). Except for those rare cases in which students may "pick up" the host country language through informal out-of-class contact alone, without the benefit of formal instruction, these programs have little to contribute to the dialogue surrounding the integration of SA programs into the foreign language curriculum.

In other SA programs with exclusively broadly educational goals, a working knowledge of the foreign language may be a prerequisite, for example, those that sponsor advanced in-depth study of a disciplinary concentration, such as Italian Renaissance art, the structure of the Israeli Kibbutz, or the management style in a Japanese auto manufacturing firm. For these programs, it is necessary to identify the specific foreign language skills needed to function in the foreign language environment, and the best ways to develop and assess those skills prior to the student's sojourn abroad.

Goals directed at increased foreign language proficiency as a product of the SA experience are inherent in all SA programs that include a foreign language component. But the notion of foreign language proficiency is itself an elusive one. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) point out that during the early years of SLA research, "the prevailing view held that language proficiency could be divided into unrelated skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and knowledge of language components (vocabulary, phonology, and grammar) (1991, p. 38). Within the past twenty years, however, alternative views of language proficiency have been proposed. Oller (1976), for example, proposed a "global proficiency" as a unitary

trait incapable of being divided into separate skills or components. Cummins (1980) has also proposed a kind of global language proficiency factor "which can be assessed by a variety of reading, writing, listening, and speaking tests and which is strongly related to general cognitive skills . . . and to academic achievement" (p. 176). He calls this Cognitive /Academic Language Proficiency or CALP. But he also proposes a second type of language proficiency, called Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), which consists of the oral fluency and the sociolinguistically appropriate use of a language in everyday, interpersonal interactions. Sociolinguistic competence is a component of several other models as well. Rather than linguistic proficiency, Canale and Swain (1980) speak of communicative competence, later further specified as consisting of four components: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence (Canale 1983). Global measures of proficiency commonly used in SA programs include oral proficiency interviews, such as the ones developed by the Foreign Service Institute or by the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), although the latter is not without controversy (see, for example, Kramsch 1986 and Savignon 1985, and the discussion below on gender).

The complexity of the notion of language proficiency suggests that SA program goals directed at increased foreign language proficiency need to be specific with respect to what aspects of foreign language proficiency the program hopes to develop and to what level. But it is the contextual variables within the language learning situation that will determine the success of those goals. These variables include the type of target language, target populations, and structure of the overseas experience.

Types of Languages Targeted

There are at least two dimensions to language type. The first is the relative difficulty of the oral language to be learned by English speaking students. The Educational Testing Service (ETS), for example, lists four groups of target languages taught in the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) according to expected levels of speaking proficiency after a specified length of training. For example, students learning a language like French or Spanish (Group I languages) can expect to attain between a 1+ and a 2+ on the ETS oral proficiency interview (OPI) test after 16 weeks or 480 hours of instruction (Liskin-Gasparro 1982). Students studying Group II languages (for example, Greek, German, or Farsi) can expect to achieve between a 1 and 2 on the OPI during the same period. In the same amount of time, students of

Group III languages (Bengali, Hebrew, Russian, and Vietnamese, for example) can expect to attain between 0+ and 1+, while those of Group IV languages (Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean) can expect scores of only 0+ to 1.

A separate but related dimension of language type concerns orthography. For example, Thai and Vietnamese are both Group III languages according to the ETS' expected levels of speaking proficiency, and typographically they share many features. However, Thai uses an Indic-based alphabet, and while Vietnamese uses three distinct writing systems: Chinese characters, a demotic script called "southern script," and the Roman "national" or "standard script," it is the last that"serves as the medium of instruction at all three levels of education and has been successfully groomed as the official orthography" (Nguyên 1987, p. 780). Similarly, two other Group III languages, Russian and Polish, are both Slavic, but the former uses a Cyrillic alphabet while the latter uses a Latin one. Finally, all of the Group IV languages listed by the ETS use non-Roman systems, but they differ considerably one from the other. For example, one (Arabic) uses a right-to-left alphabet system. A second (Korean) uses a left-to-right alphabet in which letters forming a syllable are arranged as a rebus. Chinese uses a logographic or character system, and Japanese uses three systems simultaneously, a Chinese-based character system and two syllabary systems, katakana and hiragana. While speaking proficiency in these four Group IV languages may require comparable periods of training, it is not unreasonable that development of literacy skills among these languages may vary greatly.

This has at least two important implications for an evaluation of the impact of overseas study. First, research into the effects of the overseas experience on emerging foreign language literacy skills cannot ignore these orthographic differences. One can assume that development of literacy skills in an orthography different from that of the students' native language would take longer than in one similar to it. At the same time, the exposure to environmental print that the SA experience provides may facilitate the development of literacy in alternative orthographies. Huebner (1995), for example, found that beginning level students of Japanese in a SA program performed better on a test of reading comprehension than did their counterparts in a comparable introductory Japanese program in a stateside university. Equally important, however, is the effect of exposure to environmental print on oral proficiency. Students studying languages with familiar or easily accessible orthographies may be in a better position

to take advantage of environmental print for vocabulary development, for example, during their sojourns abroad than students of languages with less accessible orthographies. To date, there is little research on the effects of environmental print on either literacy development or other aspects of foreign language proficiency in the study abroad context.

Target Populations

Much of the emerging body of literature on the linguistic effects of SA programs has been directed toward the question of who benefits most from a sojourn abroad. Yet, because of the complexity of the question, no definitive answer is available. Among the constellation of learner variables that will likely prove relevant to the issue are age, gender, aptitude, motivation, previous language learning experiences, and learning strategies.

Age. Within the larger field of SLA, the relationship between age and second language development has been much researched, although because the focus of this research has been on whether or not there is a critical or sensitive period for second language learning, most of it has looked at pre-adolescent, adolescent versus postadolescent learners (see Long 1990). In a review of this literature, Krashen, Scarcella, and Long (1979) conclude that adults acquire a second language faster than children and older children faster than younger children, but that learners who begin study of a second language from childhood are more likely to achieve accent-free, native-like performance. Johnson and Newport (1989), however, report on data from 23 adults ranging in age from 17 to 39, that shows no relationship between the acquisition of morphosyntax and age of onset of study for this group of learners, suggesting that the age differences among learners may be the result of a sensitive period around puberty and not of a general age effect. Yet anecdotal evidence from government language programs, for example, suggests that there may be age-related differences among adult learners as well. No documented research is currently available that directly addresses the issue of a general age effect on the range of factors which constitute second language proficiency.

Foreign Language Aptitude. Aptitude has been defined as "some current state of capability of learning [a] task . . . presumed to depend on some combination of more or less enduring characteristics of the individual" (Carroll 1981, p. 84). Foreign language aptitude is taken to mean the capacity for learning a second language. Within the foreign language aptitude research, the instrument most commonly used to measure foreign language aptitude is the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) (Carroll and Sapon 1959), although there are others (e.g., the Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery [Pimsleur 1966]; the Defense Language Aptitude Battery [Petersen and Al-Haik 1976]; the York Language Aptitude Test [Green 1975]; for a discussion of foreign language aptitude and the use of the MLAT, see Goodman, Freed, and McManus 1990; Freed 1995b).

While there is much debate over what constitutes foreign language aptitude, "the early research provided convincing evidence that classroom learners' language aptitude has a major effect on their success in learning an L2" (Ellis 1994, p. 498). But subsequent research (e.g., Skehan 1989) has led others to suggest that language aptitude may be "more related to the academic/literacy skills than to oral/aural proficiency" (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, p. 172). This interpretation is consistent with at least one study of SA programs. Reporting on a multiyear study of 658 students of Russian in a SA context, Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg (1993, p. 22) report that language aptitude, as measured by two subparts of the MLAT, has a strong positive correlation with reading and listening gains, but not with gains in speaking skills. This would suggest that assessment of the effects of the SA experience would need to control for language aptitude with respect to the development of CALP, but not where speaking skills are the primary goal.

Gender. When SLA research has looked at gender differences in SLA, the general pattern seems to suggest that females are better second language learners than males. This difference has been attributed to differences in attitudes to learning a second language (Burstall 1975), motivation to learn the second language (Gardner and Lambert 1972), and different ways of approaching the language learning task (Gass and Varonis 1986; Bacon 1992; Bacon and Finnemann 1992). Whatever the specific reason, the differences that appear are attributed to social, rather than physiological, factors.

Social factors also seem to play a role in gender differences which have been reported in the literature on SA programs. In these cases, however, those factors work against females. For example, Carlson et al. (1990), in a study of 171 students from four American universities participating in SA programs in Germany and France, used pre- and post-self-assessment questionnaires to assess language development during study abroad. They found that "the single most powerful predictor of language change was gender. . . . Examination of [mean scores on self-assessment scales] of the

males and females both before and after study abroad showed that the greatest gain in language proficiency was made by the males" (Carlson et al. 1990, p. 78). Similarly, the large-scale Russian study mentioned above found that on average men outgain women in listening comprehension and oral proficiency (Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg 1993, p. 16).

Several qualitative studies of the SA experience suggest why this might be so. In a case study of four women learning Japanese as a foreign language in Japan, Siegal (1994, 1995) reports that for these women appropriate language use involves a knowledge of how Japanese women speak, as well as their view of Japanese women and themselves while they are in Japan. Their failure to use appropriate language may be the result of lack of proficiency in Japanese in socioculturally appropriate ways or of their refusal to accept "certain societal rules concerning the conduct of everyday [women's] behavior" (1995, p. 228).

A preliminary analysis of the daily language learning journals of a sample of the 658 participants in the larger Brecht et al. Russian study found that men and women spent their free time outside of class in similar activities, but that "American women may have fewer—and qualitatively different—opportunities to speak in a mixed gender setting than American males" (Brecht and Robinson 1993, p. 19). In a more extensive analysis of diaries from this same study, Polyani (1995) attributes the women's lower scores on both tests of listening and oral proficiency to gender-related problems:

> In Russia, in the field, [the women in SA programs] are learning not to be "Russian language speakers" but to be "women Russian language speakers." Rather than discussing music, politics and debating the relative merits of a totally free market based economy, they are learning how to get out of humiliating social encounters, how to interpret the intentions of even polite seeming educated young men, how to get themselves home in one piece after an evening spent in fending off unwanted advances. They are learning to be more subtle about handling encounters in Russian than they would hope to ever need to be in English. They become skilled at saying "*No. Get your hands off me.*" to young men whose friendship and help they need to get to know the country well and to do the job they came over to do. . . .[T]he women do succeed in learning precious linguistic and cultural survival skills, yet these hard won skills are not those defined as skills which need to be learned. (p. 290)

These studies suggest that women are not only faced with out-of-class

encounters that are both quantitatively and qualitatively different from those of their male colleagues, but they have also not been prepared in their pre-SA language programs to deal with these differences. Furthermore, assessment instruments such as the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), commonly used to measure proficiency gains, fail to measure what they have learned of the language during their sojourn in the host country.

Motivation. As Ellis (1994, p. 517) points out, "motivation in L2 learning constitutes one of the most fully researched areas of individual differences" (p. 517), and numerous studies have provided evidence that indicates that motivation is an important indicator of foreign language learning success. Yet, despite the abundance of research in the area, it is not without controversy. The bulk of the motivation research in SLA has focused on the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation (cf. Gardner 1985), the former arising from a desire to integrate with the TL community and the latter from material rewards associated with FL learning success. It can be assumed that each of these motivates participants in SA programs. While Gardner maintains the superiority of integrative motivation for FL learning, instrumental motivation has shown to be an effective predictor in environments where learners have little interest in the target culture (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Lukmani 1972). Other researchers find the distinction difficult to maintain (e.g., Ely 1986; Crookes and Schmidt 1989). Others still provide evidence that motivation may be a result of FL success as much as it is a predictor of it (Savignon 1972; Hermann 1980; Strong 1984; Freed 1990, 1995b).

This last point suggests that motivation can change over time, with as yet unexplored implications for SA programs. Several studies that compare the effects of a sojourn abroad with similar language courses at home have controlled for motivation (e.g., DeKeyser 1986, 1991; Huebner 1995), but few (exceptions include Gardner, Smythe, and Brunet 1977, cited in Larsen-Freeman and Long 1988, p. 20; Coleman et al. 1994, cited in Freed 1995a) have looked at changes in motivation as a result of the immersion experience.

Previous Non-Target-Language Language Learning Background. Another difference among individual learners likely to influence the effects of a sojourn abroad on language proficiency is the learner's proficiency in his or her first language and in foreign languages other than the target. While most students who participate in SA programs are assumed to have

relatively well-developed first language skills, it would be remiss to ignore this variable when measuring the benefits of the SA experience, especially with respect to the development of CALP. Cummins' (1980) interdependence hypothesis proposes a common underlying proficiency for CALP that is transferable across a student's two languages. Highly developed CALP in a student's first language is likely to aid in the development of second language literacy skills.

At the same time, knowledge of languages other than the target language or the native language of the students may also have a positive effect on the development of the target language. For example, Rivers (1979) reports that her knowledge of French (her second language) facilitated her subsequent learning of Spanish. Certainly cognates played a role in this case, but it may also be that knowledge of a second language constrains the hypotheses that learners formulate regarding the target language. It may be, too, that having successfully learned a second language already, the learner has "learned how to learn." Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg suggest as much when they write that "students gain more in-country if they have had another foreign language in addition to Russian in high school or college" (1993, p. 20). In any case, this is an area that has received little attention in research on language learning in SA contexts.

Learning Strategies. Learning strategies are those unconscious or conscious activities undertaken by learners to promote learning (cf. Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, p. 212). It has been proposed that the teaching of learning strategies as a part of the second or foreign language curriculum can be of benefit to learners (O'Malley et al. 1985). At the same time, research on SA programs suggests that learners do not take full advantage of the opportunities for out-of-class contacts to enhance their learning of the target language while studying overseas. Huebner (1995) administered the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (Oxford 1990) to students in intensive Japanese programs both at home and in Japan at the beginning and again at the end of the course. Not only did he find little difference between the two groups, there was also little change within the Japan-based group in the strategies they employed at the beginning of their overseas sojourn and at the end.

As a part of the larger Russian study, Miller and Ginsberg (1995) analyzed the journals of a sample of students for their beliefs about language and methods of language learning. They found that while students are critical of what takes place in their formal language learning classrooms, they approach the out-of-class experiences with the target language in much the same way that they approach the tasks involved in formal classroom learning. Miller and Ginsberg maintain that as a result, students do not take full advantage of the language learning opportunities that a sojourn abroad affords them. It seems that Wenden's suggestion that language teachers should no longer consider their domain to be simply the teaching of language is especially apropos to SA programs:

> Learners must learn how to do for themselves what teachers typically do for them in the classroom. Our endeavors to help them improve their language skills must be complemented by an equally systematic approach to helping them develop and refine their learning skills. Learner training should be integrated with language training. (1985, p. 7)

Background in the Target Language. Much of the research on the linguistic effectiveness of SA programs has focused on the question of when in the learners' FL learning careers they might optimally benefit from a sojourn abroad. The results have not always been consistent. Research on the linguistic effects of three-month interprovincial exchanges among junior and senior high school students in Canada finds that students with initially lower French language proficiency made greater gains as result of submersion in a French environment, especially for listening and oral skills (Lapkin et al. 1995). Furthermore, analysis of diaries and questionnaires suggest that most of the significant learning experiences of the interprovincial exchange students occur outside the classroom. The researchers conclude that "[t]he importance of frequent and sustained interactions with native speakers, it seems, cannot be overstated in achieving impressive linguistic gains in a three-month exchange" (1995, p. 91). Freed 1995b also finds more growth for those with lower levels of proficiency.

By way of contrast, Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg (1993) report that in the Russian study, those students with higher pre-sojourn FL reading and grammar test scores were more likely than students with lower scores to gain in all other skills, including gains on the OPI and listening comprehension measures. This is particularly true for groups of learners who have reached a threshold level of 1+/2 on the OPI. They conclude that investment in grammar instruction in the early years of instruction may result in advances in speaking and listening skills at the upper-intermediate and advanced levels" (1993, p. 21). Since this study was based on undergraduate and graduate students, while the Canadian study was of adolescents, other factors (e.g., age, motivation) may account for these apparently conflicting results.

That SA participants at various levels of FL proficiency benefit differently from the overseas experience is apparent in the work of Freed (1990). In a study of university-level SA students in France, she found that those at advanced levels of FL study benefit more from "non-interactive contact" (i.e., reading books, watching television, etc.) with the TL. Intermediate-level students, on the other hand, benefit most from "interactive" (speaking with family and friends) out-of-class contact. Other studies offer data to suggest that even students at beginning levels of FL study may gain added benefits from the SA experience (i.e., Huebner 1995).

Given these findings, there may not be one best time for all students to study abroad. A definitive answer may ultimately rest on other variables discussed above as well as individual differences, such as personality type or cognitive style. It may also rest on variables inherent in program design.

Program and Course Design

SA programs vary with respect to design features perhaps as much as foreign language programs do in general. These variables can be seen in terms of the amount and quality of out-of-class target language contact that SA programs foster, and the extent to which these programs prepare students for this contact, both before and during the sojourn abroad. Because SA programs are often a part of a larger foreign language program, post-SA follow-up to sustain and build upon gains attributed to the overseas experience becomes an important component as well.

Out-of-class Contact and Language Acquisition. As has been pointed out above, the quantity and quality of out-of-class contact is related to such learner variables as gender, learning strategies, and background in the target language, as well as to *type* of out-of-class contact. But programs vary with respect to the extent to which opportunities for out-of-class contact are built into them. Programs that house American students together in American enclaves (Brecht and Walton 1994) provide for fewer such opportunities than those that house students with host-country students in dormitories. Host family living arrangements may provide even more such opportunities. In situations where students are left to themselves to find living arrangements, individual learner differences may take on more importance with respect to the opportunities students seek out for informal out-of-class target language contact.

The Formal Instructional Context and Language Acquisition. One overriding issue in SLA research concerns the ultimate value of language instruction in target language contexts: Does language instruction help at all in these contexts? In a review of studies comparing naturalistic versus formal instruction, Chaudron (1988), following Long (1983), argues that "the outcomes favor instruction, *all other factors being equal*" (emphasis in original, p. 4). Within the SA context, the corresponding question would be whether formal instruction along side of informal contact facilitates learning. Studies of SA programs, drawing on student journals and interviews, provide some insight into students' impressions of the value of classroom instruction vis-à-vis their out-of-class experiences (cf. Carlson et al. 1990; Brecht and Robinson 1993). But lacking among the SA research is any close look at what actually happens in the classroom and the relationship between that and FL attainment during the sojourn abroad.

Among the areas yet to be explored in in-country classrooms are the design features of the course itself, the nature of classroom language, and methods of student assessment. Course design features encompass such variables as the intensity and duration of the course, the specification and organization of the course syllabus, and the role of classroom resources. SA courses, as noted earlier, can be either intensive or extensive, and they can range in length from several weeks to a full year. The syllabus may be organized around structural features of the language, notions and functions that language performs, situations students are likely to find themselves in, tasks students are expected to perform in the target language, or some combination of these. Among the classroom resources SA programs may draw upon are textbooks, authentic oral and written materials in the target language, computers, and language laboratories. Spada (1985, 1986) suggests that the learners' informal contact with the target language may interact with instructional differences to produce variation in improvement in proficiency. The extent to which design features have been modified from regular home-based courses to meet the immediate communicative needs of SA students will surely affect the degree to which those students are able to take advantage of their out-of-class contacts in the target language.

Classroom language subsumes not only teacher talk and student behaviors, but also teacher/student interactions. Among the variables involved in teacher talk are the amount (the percentage of classroom talk produced by the teacher) and the specific language used (the students' native language or the target language). The functional distribution of teacher talk is also a relevant dimension here: What percentage of teacher

talk is devoted to soliciting, structuring, reacting, and responding to student talk, as opposed to explaining, questioning, and commanding? Finally, teacher talk issues include the kinds of modifications in speech rate, phonology, vocabulary, syntax, and discourse intended to accommodate the learner.

Such modifications have been found to increase comprehensible input needed for SLA to occur. But when there is a discrepancy between the talk of the teacher and that of the community in which the students must function outside of the classroom, such modifications may work against the students' most immediate needs. For example, a teacher of Japanese may insist on the use of only formal forms in the classroom, but outside of class in their everyday interactions, students consistently encounter informal forms.

Learner behaviors of possible relevance include the amount and kinds of student in-class language productions, the opportunities they have for interaction and negotiation of meaning, and opportunities for controlling their own learning. What percentage of the class time do students speak and is it in the target language? Does student speech consist primarily of mechanical responses in drills or do they include opportunities for social interaction of the kind they are likely to encounter outside? Finally, to what extent does the course allow for students' self-identified immediate linguistic needs to be incorporated into the content of the course? Swain (1985) suggests that conversational exchanges that provide for negotiation of meaning are important not only as sources of comprehensible input; they are necessary to provide opportunities for "contextualized, meaningful use, to test out hypotheses about the target language, and to move the learner from a purely semantic analysis of the language to a syntactic analysis of it" (p. 252).

A crucial issue in SLA classroom-oriented research is which cultural norms, those of the target language or those of the students, should dictate teacher/student interactions. A mismatch between teachers and students' cultural norms may result in a differential in teacher interactions with students in classrooms. While conversational participants normally "exchange and negotiate information on the reception and comprehension of their message" (Chaudron 1988, p. 132), in the language classroom, the status and knowledge differential between teacher and students results in an imbalance in that exchange process. Conflicting cultural expectations about the role of teachers and the role of students in a SA context may add to that imbalance. Are students in SA classrooms being taught the target

culture norms of students in that culture or of active participants in the wider sociocultural setting? To date, this issue has received little attention in the research on the effectiveness of SA programs.

Because students' perceptions of what is most relevant in the content of a course are shaped by "what will be on the test," another important factor in the SA course design is the degree to which it is test oriented, and the nature of those exams. Do the tests measure the kinds of skills that students are expected to develop from their sojourn abroad? This is an issue not only of course design but also of any evaluation of the linguistic effectiveness of the of SA programs in general.

Post-instruction Follow-up. Post-instruction follow-up to formal SA language instruction may take the form of re-entry courses for students returning to their home institutions, or, in the case of students who continue their sojourn abroad after the completion of formal language instruction (e.g., the Peace Corps example), support structures in the host country. Pilot studies from the massive European Language Proficiency Survey (35,000 students in approximately 100 institutions [Coleman et al. 1994, cited in Freed 1995a]) suggest that student growth in the target language slows down radically upon their return from a year abroad. These results point to the importance of follow-up to sustain and build upon gains attributed to the overseas experience.

Assessing the Linguistic Effectiveness of SA Programs

Having outlined some of the variables which must be taken into consideration in assessing the linguistic effectiveness of SA programs, the discussion now turns to assessment methodologies and instruments. Evaluations of the effectiveness of SA programs have involved both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Qualitative research methods are those concerned with understanding the processes involved in human behavior from the dual perspective of both the insider and the outsider. They involve increasingly focused observation of naturalistic behavior and result in rich descriptions of a particular learning situation. Quantitative research methods are concerned with finding causes of social phenomena from the perspective of the objective observer. They involve the controlled measurement of quantifiable outcomes, resulting in hard, replicable data. True experimental research also involves the use of experimental and control groups with subjects assigned randomly to each group.

Because true experiments are difficult to design for such complex

human endeavors as language learning situations, many studies employ methodologies that omit control groups. These are sometimes called "pre-experimental" studies (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991). Because human behavior with respect to whether or not someone will study abroad is difficult to dictate for experimental purposes, very few involve random assignment of subjects ("quasi-experimental," ibid.). As a way of compensating for these problems, many SA studies have employed multiple research methodologies. Those that do often provide the richest pictures of the linguistic effects of SA. But ultimately the research methodologies employed are dictated by the type of research questions asked.

Instruments. Related to research methodology are the instruments used to measure the linguistic effects of SA. Early studies relied on discrete item test scores to measure linguistic growth (Carroll 1967; Willis et al. 1977). Subsequent researchers (e.g., Veguez 1984; Kaplan 1989; Freed 1990; Milleret 1990; Hart et al. 1994) have pointed out the potentially confounding ceiling effects of discrete point tests, such as the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) or the MLA Cooperative Tests.

Questionnaires and surveys have been used to gather information on student language use (Kaplan 1989; Freed 1990), learning strategies (Huebner 1995) and affective variables, such as attitude and motivation (DeKeyser 1986, 1991; Freed 1990, 1995b; Huebner 1995). They have also been used as indicators of students' self-assessment of proficiency gained (e.g., Carlson et al. 1990; Meara 1994; Lapkin et al. 1995). Meara's (1994, cited in Freed 1995a) analysis of a self-assessment questionnaire administered to 586 SA students from the more general Nuffield Modern Language Inquiry found that the majority of students reported improved oral-aural skills as a result of the year abroad experience; fewer than half felt that they had made progress in reading and writing. But the value of self-assessment questionnaires as a surrogate for other measures of proficiency gain is questionable. Lapkin et al. (1995), using both self-assessment questionnaires and tests of listening and reading comprehension, speaking, and writing, conclude: "Overall, the results were disappointing in that the correlational data would not encourage us to dispense with language testing in favour of self-assessment scales" (p. 91).

Perhaps the most commonly used measure of oral proficiency in SA programs is the TL interview (especially the ACTFL OPI). Taped interview data have also been used to look at the acquisition of specific grammatical features of the TL (e.g., Ryan and Lafford 1992; Gunterman 1992a, 1992b), fluency (Freed 1995b), and sociolinguistic competence

(e.g., Marriott 1995; Regan 1995). Freed (1995b), however, points to at least one limitation to the OPI as a global measure of language use. Because of its non-linear construction, the OPI is often unable to discriminate progress made by students at the upper levels of the proficiency scale.

Learners' diaries and journals provide insights into affective variables as well as communication and learning strategies (DeKeyser 1986, 1991; Brecht and Robinson 1993; Miller and Ginsberg 1995; Polyani 1995). The discussion of gender differences above points to the value of diary studies and native language interviews to enrich our understanding of the results of quantitative studies.

Communication games, picture descriptions, and role play situations have been used to look at communication strategies (DeKeyser 1986, 1991; Lafford 1995) and the development of sociolinguistic competence (Marriott 1995). Studies of sociolinguistic (Siegal 1994, 1995) and strategic competence (Hashimoto, in press, cited in Marriott 1995) have also relied on data from tape recordings of natural conversations.

Some Findings from Pre-Experimental Studies

Several studies involving pre- and post-application of some of these measures indicate improvement in speaking and listening skills and in certain aspects of sociolinguistic competence.

Spoken Proficiency. Freed 1995a cites a number of pre-experimental studies (those without control groups) to provide evidence that students in SA programs show gains on post-SA measures, particularly in speaking skills. For example, she cites Willis, Doble, Sankarayya and Smithers (1977, cited in Freed 1995a) who used pre- and posttest scores of 88 British students who spent a year or more either working or studying in France or Germany, to find linguistic growth in speaking, listening, and reading skills.

Dyson (1988, cited in Freed 1995a), assessing the linguistic competence in listening and speaking skills of 229 British students who had spent a year studying in France, Germany, or Spain, reports that pre- to posttests indicated considerable growth in both these skills, particularly among the weaker students in the study. O'Connor (1988, cited in Freed 1995a), in a study of approximately 30 intermediate-level students who spent a year in France, found that, at the end of the year, they had moved an average of one step on the OPI rating scale. Veguez' study (1984, cited in Freed 1995a) of 17 Spanish students who studied abroad yielded com-

parable results. Milleret (1990, cited in Freed 1995a) conducted a study of 11 intermediate-level students of Portuguese using the Portuguese Speaking Test and found that students who participated in a six-week summer abroad program in Brazil, increased their ratings, on average, one step on the ACTFL OPI scale.

Sociolinguistic Knowledge. Marriott (1995) uses role plays to analyze the acquisition of politeness in Japanese by eight secondary-level Australian exchange students who spent a year in Japan. Among her conclusions are: First, the students in the study displayed a great variation in the acquisition of politeness norms; second, students' use of politeness phenomena changed considerably after their sojourn in Japan; and finally, even after their sojourn abroad, their performance deviated considerably from the expected norm.

Regan (1995) looked at how the deletion of the negative particle *ne* in French was affected after a year of study in France. The procedures included Varbrul (cf. Young 1989, for a description) multivariate analyses of the linguistic contexts of *ne*-deletion in the pre- and postinterviews of seven advanced learners from Ireland. Previous to their sojourn abroad, students were found to make little use of *ne*-deletion, a sociolinguistic rule conditioned by grammatical, stylistic, and social factors among native French speakers. While the students in the study used this rule much more after the SA, they also were found to overgeneralize the rule, deleting the *ne* particle more frequently than native speakers in formal or monitored speech.

Of course, as we have seen, while pre-experimental studies can measure linguistic growth over the period of the overseas experience, they cannot tell us that the growth is a direct result of that overseas experience. Without control groups we cannot tell if students would have made similar growth studying the foreign language at their home institutions.

Some Findings from Quasi-Experimental Studies

The results of quasi-experimental studies are mixed. It seems that whether or not experimental groups (i.e., those who go abroad) outperform control groups (those who stay at home) depends on what skills are measured and how.

Oral Proficiency. On the basis of OPI scores, several quasi-experimental studies provide support for the benefit of the overseas experience on

oral proficiency. In a study of 40 students of French at the University of Wisconsin, Magnan (1986) found that those who had spent anywhere from one to 18 months in a francophone country tended to score higher on the OPI than those who had not, although the implications for SA are confounded by the facts that she did not conduct pretests and that students' time abroad varied greatly. Liskin-Gasparro (1984, cited in Freed 1995a), comparing the Spanish proficiency of students who had been abroad with those who had not, found that the former group out-performed the latter on the OPI. A study by Foltz (1991, cited in Freed 1995a), also used the OPI to assess oral development in Spanish of two groups of students, one who studied in Spain and a comparable group who remained on campus. His results found greater growth in oral proficiency by those who participated in the study abroad program than those who had not. Huebner (1995) found that beginning level students of Japanese who had studied abroad tended to score higher on the OPI than a comparable group of students studying at an American university. Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg (1993), comparing pre- and post- scores on the OPI among 646 students who studied Russian abroad with the general population of students who have completed four years of college Russian study, conclude that "at least one semester of study in-country is required if any sizable percentage of students studying Russian are to reach at least a functional level of competence in speaking" in a language of the degree of difficulty of Russian (p. 17).

Aspects of Grammatical Competence. For intermediate and advanced students, the sojourn abroad may not greatly affect certain structural elements. DeKeyser (1986), for example, reported no difference between those intermediate students who had spent a semester in Spain and those who studied at their stateside university in their command over the subjunctive as measured by a paper and pencil test. Similarly, Regan (1985), using interview transcripts from six advanced learners of French in French-speaking SA contexts, found that "in relation to negation, the stay in the native speech community makes virtually no difference to certain structural features in the learner language" (p. 259).

On the other hand, a pilot study by Cox and Freed (1988) of 12 students of French as a foreign language who had spent a semester abroad and 12 who had not, reported that the SA group demonstrated greater grammatical control of the past tense, of relative clauses, and of the subjunctive as well as "more native-like" use of negation and interrogation strategies. However, as one of the authors recognizes, "this study . . . was not carefully

controlled and presented no analyses of statistical significance" (Freed 1995, p. 8).

Ultimately, the effects that opportunities for out-of-class contact and informal learning will be determined to have on grammatical competence may rest on what aspects of grammatical competence are examined, their relationship to both the immediate communicative needs of the learners as well as to the curriculum, and the level of student command of the TL.

Acquisition Orders. Research in SLA provides evidence that learners must pass through developmental sequences on their way to the acquisition of the structure of the target language. Much of this research has focused on the order in which TL morphemes are acquired (cf. Dulay, Burt, and Krashen 1982). The proposal of a fixed order of the acquisition of certain morphemes has provided the basis for models of both SLA and of teaching methodologies (cf. Ellis 1994, pp. 73–177). The extent to which these sequences or orders are found to exist in situations where learners have opportunity for both classroom and out-of-class learning, as opposed to either one or the other, will have implications for both SLA and foreign language teaching.

Several studies have examined whether there is a difference in the order of acquisition of specific morphemes between students who have had opportunity for informal contact as provided by a SA experience and those who have not. Ryan and Lafford's (1992) longitudinal analysis of the acquisition order of the Spanish copulas (*ser* and *estar*) in a study abroad context report an acquisition order similar to that established for U.S.-based students as reported by VanPatten (1987). Similarly, in a set of studies examining the acquisition order of *ser* vs. *estar,* and *por* vs. *para* among Peace Corps volunteers, Gunterman (1992a, 1992b) provides support for developmental stages suggested by prior research limited to learners in formal classroom contexts.

Communication Strategies. One might expect that one area in which students would surely benefit from a sojourn in a TL environment would be with respect to communication strategies, those strategies speakers use when faced with meeting communicative needs with their communication means. Although this question requires much further research, the research that exists in this area suggests that the effect of SA on communication strategies employed may be one area in which individual differences will be most pronounced.

Looking at the effect of an overseas experience on how learners supplement their insufficient knowledge of the target language during

communication, DeKeyser (1986, 1991) compared the communication strategies of seven American students spending a semester in Spain with five comparable students studying at Stanford University. Basing his conclusions on data from both interviews and a picture description task, DeKeyser maintains that the students "did not drastically change their monitoring behavior or their use of communication strategies" as a result of studying abroad (1991, p. 115). Nevertheless, the experimental group did demonstrate gains in fluency and vocabulary, and there was much more variability in their performance than among the stateside group. This last generalization is one reported in many SA studies.

In a somewhat larger study of 13 students in Mexico, 16 in Spain, and a control group of 13 students at Arizona State University, Lafford (1995) also compared the communicative strategies used by Spanish FL students, with somewhat different results. On the basis of her analysis of the pre- and postrole-play situations found in the OPI, she concludes that "the study abroad experience broadens the repertoire of communicative strategies of L2 learners and makes them better conversationalists" (p. 118). She goes on to say, "As compared to classroom students, those that have been abroad have shown themselves to be adept at using a wider variety of appropriate structures within a conversational context. . . . Those in the study abroad groups produce more words than the students in the classroom group and have more repairs than repeats in their speech" (p. 120). This last finding is consistent with other quasi-experimental SA studies (e.g., Huebner 1995; Freed 1995b).

Fluency. In SLA research, fluency has traditionally been measured in terms of temporal variables, such as the number of syllables per second, the average length of pauses between syllables, and the number of pauses between syllables. Other measures of fluency include such hesitation phenomena as pause fillers, repetitions, and self-corrections (cf. Ellis 1994, p. 394). In several pre-experimental design studies of SA programs, fluency has also been identified as an aspect of FL proficiency that is enhanced by sojourns in a target language context. Raupach (1983) describes how undergraduate German-speaking learners of French use formulas both as fillers and as organizers. Lennon (1989) followed four advanced-level German university students during a six-month period at the University of Reading. On the basis of both recordings of subjects' oral productions and of students' introspections recorded both in writing and in oral interviews in German, Lennon reports on the advances made in fluency by these students by the end of their stay.

In a comparative study of the effects of SA on the fluency of eight American university students, four studying abroad and four studying at home, Freed (1995b) used subjective evaluations by native French speakers of speech samples from interviews. She followed this with a detailed analysis of those samples in terms of those factors mentioned above frequently associated with fluency. With respect to the subjective evaluations by native speakers, she found that "among the students who were perceived as having lower fluency at the beginning of the semester, there was a greater tendency to improve and to be perceived as being 'somewhat more fluent' for those who had gone abroad than for a comparable group of students at home" (1995b, p. 136). When analyzing the excerpts for the existence of factors of fluency, however, she reports that "rate of speech is the only fluency feature that yields a significant difference between the At Home and Abroad groups. . . . [S]tudents who had spent a semester abroad spoke both more and at a significantly faster rate than did those whose learning had been restricted to the language learning classroom at home" (p. 137). At the same time, in a finding consistent with other comparative studies (e.g., DeKeyser 1986; Huebner 1995; Lafford 1995), she reports that students exhibited more individual variation than did the stateside students.

Conclusion

Although the research in SA is still in its infancy, as educators begin to explore avenues for reform and improvement of foreign language education, attention to SA programs will increase. This paper has attempted to provide a framework for the evaluation of these programs by identifying some of the variables that must be taken into consideration in evaluating the range of programs that all fall under the rubric of "Study Abroad." In the process, it has also reviewed some of the literature on that topic, and discussed some of the issues, for SLA and for foreign language pedagogy. The picture that emerges is both complex and incomplete. SA programs vary with respect to their placement in educational institutions, their goals, their target languages and populations, and their program and course designs, and these variables must be taken into consideration when assessing their effectiveness. In the final analysis, there may not be one most appropriate time for or approach to the SA experience. Rather, it may be that researchers will turn to how to best realize the goals of the SA program within the larger context in which it is embedded.

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Part IV

Cultural Boundaries

Using Ethnography to Bridge the Gap Between Study Abroad and the On-Campus Language and Culture Curriculum

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Study Sojourns: Then and Now

It is a theme of *The Grand Tour* by Christopher Hibbert (1969), that the continental tour undertaken by eighteenth-century gentlemen was conceived of as a lengthy and complex learning event. Hibbert describes in detail (p. 20) the operations the grand tourer is expected to perform when immersed in the host culture: identify salient knowledge about the host country, elicit information from host informants, keep records, and use foreign languages effectively. That the Tour was designed for an elite clientele who would be made more civil and civilized seems to be the secondary, affective outcome. Primary seems to be the cognitive emphasis on acquiring knowledge *about* something—the history, geography, trade, laws, climate, customs, art, and so forth of the host country.

In some ways, the 1790s' Tour and the 1990s' undergraduate study abroad experience are not that different. The typical twentieth-century sojourner takes disciplinary courses in history, art history, culture, and economics, and learns about the master institutions—educational, political, and legal—of the host country. Except for the enduring emphasis on language acquisition, the emphasis in most off-campus curricula is still on knowledge, on learning *about* the host culture. And if knowledge enhancement is the central activity, it is not surprising that we have come to expect even less self-sufficiency and independence from our contemporary sojourners who do most of their learning abroad in textbook-defined, classroom-bound, and teacher-directed ways.

In contrast, there is Paige's dictum that the most intense and potent aspect of a study sojourn is what is learned *outside* of the formal knowledge-centered curriculum (Paige 1993, p. 3). We can extend Paige's claim by arguing that beyond-the-classroom learning should be the distinctive bedrock of foreign study precisely because it is transformative and not only knowledge-enhancing. Sojourners can and should enlarge their knowledge base about the host culture, but that is a classroom-bound activity not too different from what happens on the home-campus. What is unique and most lasting is the change in cognition, affect, and behavior associated with lengthy cultural immersion. We modify Paige's claim only in that we call for a double emphasis on classroom *and* beyond-the-classroom learning.

There is, in fact, ample research literature (Bicknese, 1974; Byram and Esarte-Sarries, 1991; Koester, 1985; McGuigan, 1984; Sell, 1983) to suggest that extended cultural immersion can indeed lead to significant cognitive, affective, and behavioral transformation. Perhaps the most compelling basis for generalization about intercultural learning is the Study Abroad Evaluation Project (SAEP) (Carlson et al., 1991). Begun in 1983, this multi-institutional and crosscultural study was unique in the way it included a longitudinal dimension to measure the durability of changes in the learners and a quasi-experimental design (program returnees were compared with a control group that did not participate in study abroad and continued studying at the home institution).

From the literature and our own institutional experience, then, we take the position that the most powerful kind of intercultural learning lies in improved capacity to deal with ambiguity, a heightened awareness of cultural diversity, an enhanced ability to learn in complex non-classroom ways, and changes in self-concept, attitudes, and behavior. These transformations are in fact documented in the SAEP and are, we believe, among the most compelling reasons to develop and operate study abroad programs. We suggest that to enhance this kind of transformational learning is to maximize what the sojourners bring home from foreign study. By extension the programmatic and pedagogical challenge is clear: What can we do to facilitate even more intercultural transformational learning?

In this essay, a case will be made for a new paradigm for study sojourns abroad: the ethnographic inquiry. This kind of inquiry can be generic to any program and all sites and can be fine-tuned to meet the needs of any institution and all sojourners. Ethnographic knowledge, it will be argued, is not a substitute for knowledge about the host culture but the ideal in-the-field extension to classroom learning. This new learning

paradigm, it will also be argued, is a timely and appropriate complement to all home-campus foreign language curricula. The final section of this essay will describe the case history of one institution, Earlham College, which began reconfiguring all of its foreign study programs 15 years ago to make ethnographic inquiry a potent and practical core learning event.

Ethnography as a Scientific Method

As a method, ethnography is naturalistic in that it does not manipulate variables or proceed from a research hypothesis, but tries instead to describe the "way of living" of a social group in their naturally occurring and ongoing setting (Watson-Gegeo 1988, p. 575). It is more than a retelling of observed behavior, however, for it also aims to sight and sort the values, attitudes, and assumptions that inform the behavior. In that way it is a protocol as well as an interpretive and explanatory rendering of the observed "way of living."

As an account, ethnography attempts to provide an insider's understanding of things, an emic perspective. Agar (1980, p. 78), in fact, describes ethnography as a paraphrase of what the cultural insiders reveal themselves about their own group's behavior and experience. Ethnographers know also that their accounts and paraphrases can fail when their construction of other people's way of living is too strongly filtered and colored by their own perspective. But they also know that they, as cultural animals, can not approach their work *tabula rasa*, because their own cultural lenses will always modulate and mediate the observed phenomena. It is no accident that some of the most compelling and famous ethnographies were accounts of cultures utterly different and distant from that of the researcher. Such distance is a way to control in part for one's own habitual way of seeing and knowing. To grope for accurate representations and to distrust these representations sounds like an intolerable dilemma for ethnographers, but it can lead to a productive doubled sense of oneself as both actor and acted-upon. Because ethnographers tend to be so utterly self-aware, Rabinow (1974, p. 36) and Robinson (1985, p. 82) suggest that ethnography leads invariably to a fuller comprehension of the self by the detour of the comprehension of the other.

Researchers' struggle to control for their own input and biases is only one of the tensions that informs ethnography. A second tension is that culture analysis is intrinsically incomplete and the deeper the researcher cuts, the less complete it becomes. The root of the problem, suggests Clifford Geertz (1973, p. 37), is that to do ethnography is to never arrive at a fin-

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ished research product because cultures are by definition processual and perpetually transforming. As phenomena, cultures are as layered as the proverbial onion and their analysis defies operational closure.

Because the object of study is so layered, knotted, tangled, strange, and irregular, ethnographers are reluctant to use their ethnographic data as the basis for generalizations about the whole of a people. It is by design and constraint, then, that ethnographers tend to focus on manageable microcontexts and not patterns of the whole. This emphasis on the microscopic means that by definition ethnographers are almost more interested in little "c" culture than in big "c" patterns. There are so many factors to control for that ethnographers are extremely cautious in letting their data speak for, say, all 80 million Germans or 125 million Japanese.

Because cultures are so "deep," Geertz offers the dictum that ethnographies have to be as "thick" as possible (p. 6). Immersed in little "c" the ethnographer observes tirelessly, records, interprets, and analyzes. The goal, after all, is not only to *learn about* group x but to also begin to *think like* group x. And that is only possible when the ethnographic data are as rich as possible and the interpretation as actor-oriented as possible. "Thickness" is also suggested by the overlapping and painstaking in-the-field procedures of the ethnographer: observation, participant observation, informal and formal interviews, note-taking, audio- and videotaping, collection of relevant materials and documents, the field journal. "Thickness" is further suggested by the assumption that the observation period be as intensive, unmediated, and uninterrupted as possible.

Ethnography as a Liberating Learning Experience: Some Caveats

The ethnographic procedures and goals summarized above can match the needs, interests, and capabilities of nearly all undergraduate student sojourners and fit the structural realities of almost all program types, but with modifications. In this paradigm, sojourners will not generate ethnographic knowledge to rival professional anthropologists or expand the ethnographic knowledge base about culture x or y per se. The emphasis instead is on what we can borrow from the *process* of doing ethnographic field work. Indeed, this paradigm retains throughout the qualitative and quantitative difference between the work of apprentice and master ethnographers. It does not constitute a downgrading of ethnographic methods but a downsizing of the procedures and outcome expectations.

This paradigm *does* try to make the in-the-field methods of ethnography accessible and understandable to students and expose them to the potency and excitement of ethnographic discovery. For a model of how to downsize and adapt the ethnographic enterprise, we can draw on the work of Spradley and McCurdy (1972, V) who argue that undergraduates in general, and not just anthropology majors, *can* be taught to conduct meaningful and respectable field study (see also Robinson 1985, Byram, Esarte-Sarries and Taylor 1991, and Roberts 1993 for additional versions of downsized ethnographic inquiry). In a strict sense, student ethnographers are not capable of producing thick description as a professional ethnographer would. After all, on a three-month program in Bogota, how close could students get to an insider's perspective of the pattern of things at an outdoor market, a daycare center, or an amateur soccer club? But even students' thin description of things is valid from a teaching and learning perspective because what is important is less the product of ethnography, the exhaustive study itself, than the process of observing, participating, describing, analyzing, and interpreting. This paradigm downsizes, then, expectations about the depth and quality of the ethnographic data gathered, but retains a rigorous sense of an ethnographer's procedures and sense of self.

It has also been claimed that this is a culture-general methodology applicable to all program sites, no matter how "familiar" or "exotic." If an apprentice ethnographer is immersed in a culture that seems deeply layered and knotted, it is clear that sojourners will be able to peel back and understand only so many layers. Again, our emphasis is on process and not the sheer number of layers identified, classified, and catalogued.

Nor does this paradigm presume that the learner's second language (L2) proficiency is *the* enabling or disabling variable in the downsized ethnographic process. Of course, the apprentice ethnographer's level of L2 proficiency will determine, to a degree, the reliability, amount, and significance of the ethnographic data generated and sorted. An apprentice ethnographer's field success, however, should not be pegged absolutely to the ability to effortlessly send and receive linguistic messages. Indeed, the ethnographer must be even more attentive to the linguistic and cultural messages that her informants are sending and receiving. The ability to develop and deploy good observational and interpretive skills can offset a sojourner's less-than-perfect L2 skills. It is, in fact, our own experience at Earlham College that, for example, intermediate L2 users can consciously compensate for their linguistic weakness and become advanced and even superior ethnographers. Further, it is our experience that weaker L2 users

have a massive motivation to invest more heavily in their language learning when they realize that improved skills transport them that many layers closer to an emic perspective of things.

Propositions about Ethnography as the Core Experience

The central idea underlying ethnography as the core learning event is a matter of insight into perceptual processes. An essay by Marshall Singer (1987) provides our fundamental premise: that humans as social animals behave the way they do because of the manner in which they perceive the world. Perception is the process of receiving, clarifying, and organizing experiential input, and it is our perception of things that provides the frame of reference for the way we interact with others and our environment. What we value, what we believe, and even what we know are all functions of the way we perceive. To the degree that people lack a shared perceptual frame of reference—as in intercultural interaction—orientation may be difficult for them, communication may be encumbered, and it may even fail.

On the basis of variation in perception of phenomena, Singer (1987) has developed a model of identity and culture. His scheme includes the following theses: (l) a "perceptual group" is a number of individuals who perceive some aspects of the external world more or less similarly; (2) a number of people who perceive some aspects of the world more or less similarly and recognize that they share that similarity of perception may be termed an "identity group"; and (3) a pattern of perception and behavior, which is accepted and expected by an identity group, is called a "culture" (p. 6). Since by definition each identity group has its own patterns of behavioral norms, each group may be said to have its own culture. Cultural difference, then, lies in the varying patterns of perception that can hinder or block intercultural understanding.

In some key assumptions about culture and its study, Geertz (1973) extends Singer's basic scheme. Espousing a concept of culture that is essentially semiotic, Geertz likens us to animals "suspended in webs of significance that we ourselves have spun" (p. 5). Geertz takes culture to be those very webs and the analysis of culture to be a semiotic and interpretive one in search of meaning and significance. For both Geertz and Singer, human beings are by nature organizing organisms. It is as if we were hard-wired as a species for the unfailing and universal ways we construct the social realities into which we are embedded as social animals.

To fabricate and act out cultural patterns is a fundamental kind of

meaning making, which defines our individual and social humanness. We are by definition meaning makers and it is the job of the ethnographer to identify and articulate the ways by which we spin the governing pattern. To do ethnography, then, even in our paradigm's downsized version, is not to scrutinize a particular cultural pattern as a *Ding an sich*, an objectifiable entity. It is instead to study the defining activities of human beings: the way in which culture is our instinctual meaning-making and web-spinning activity and the sets of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that are the composite pieces of a cultural group.

The Ethnographic Learning Core and Its Outcomes

In de-emphasizing the thickness of the product and claiming that the learning potential lies in the process, what, then, are the expected learning outcomes of the paradigm? What do the learners "learn by doing"? What do they take home when they return to the home curriculum? What justifies the effort to train and supervise a corps of apprentice ethnographers? If it is not to develop the professional tools and technique of the ethnographer, what then are the learning outcomes?

This paradigm has as a bedrock assumption Singer's and Geertz's proposition that we are all initially constrained in certain ways because of the inherent perceptual and cognitive patterns of our own culture. This model of culture suggests that we are *all* initially monocultural and not innately equipped to deal with unfamiliar attitudes, values, and behaviors. Student sojourners, for example, trying to study and work in cultures other than their own, are constantly challenged to understand and cope successfully with difference. By extension, students in L2 classes on the home campus trying to process L2 texts embedded in unknown second culture (C2) contexts are similarly challenged. But whenever the degree of difference in intercultural communication voids learners' existing schemata and interpretive skills, their attempt to negotiate meaning runs the risk of defaulting. Frustrated in their attempt to negotiate complex meaning, they fall back on superficial interpretations, defer to authorities who tell them what to think, dismiss the "other" by deforming it to match their own perceptual assumptions, or demean the "other" as irrelevant or insignificant. There is also an ultimate default mechanism: to take flight and avoid all future encounters with difference.

This essay, however, has been arguing that to do ethnography is to inoculate against our monocultural defense mechanisms, to develop new conceptual flexibility and intercultural tolerance. Indeed, the overall out-

come we associate with this paradigm of learning is the gradual development of intercultural conceptual competence. In more specific terms this competence-as-outcome has two general facets: 1) consciousness raising in regard to perception and perspective; 2) an ever-increasing ability to recognize at least in a limited way what things might look like from the viewpoint of members of another culture.

The first facet informs the attempt to lead students to new insights into the perceptual process. The word "lead" is chosen judiciously, for the students must *on their own* come to see things in a different way. This is not a matter of teacher-transmitted information but, rather, a set of cognitive shifts and insights that the learners have to internalize and impose *on their own* attitude structures and intellectual processes. Indeed, this first facet of intercultural conceptual competence is sometimes even resisted vigorously perhaps because of a certain harshness implied in the realization that a culture holds all of us perceptually captive, at least initially.

The second facet builds on the learner's understanding of perception and of the diversity of ideas and practices, and strives for a limited recognition of others' cultural viewpoints. If the first facet of intercultural competence were reduced to a simplistic idiom, "people are different," then the second concept could be stated as an exhortation to "understand others." This empathetic understanding, however, is equally complex and is also anchored in the way we perceive. In its least developed form on an empathy continuum a tourist's attitudes in a foreign locale might be typical. The tourist's encounter with the "other" might elicit labels for the encountered phenomena such as unbelievable, exotic, bizarre, and perhaps even irrational. Diametrically opposed to the tourist would be the cultural learner who has first learned about his or her own cultural/perceptual frame of reference and then goes on to observe and live the culture as much as possible. By using classroom strategies much can be learned of the beliefs, assumptions, and values of the target culture, but ultimately empathic understanding will require direct experience of the culture, so that members of the host culture can impart their own epistemology, their own way of seeing things. By immersing oneself in a culture and by doing ethnography, the ultimate cognitive and affective outcome is that the learner might *slowly* begin to see things through the eyes of the host culture.

After many years of cultural immersion some learners might even become bi-cultural, completely fluent, and comfortable in a second cultural system, but such duality is a rare, if not unattainable stage. Instead,

lesser degrees of intercultural competence still make sense as attainable and worthy goals. The paradigm stresses the word "attainable" and a "limited" sense of what things could look like from such a viewpoint. *Any* progress that learners make on a continuum of developing intercultural competence is a valid outcome.

Our emphasis on intercultural learning should not suggest that in-class learning *about* the target culture has no place in the overall scheme. Indeed, students should do in-class work *and* field work for there are relational benefits from both kinds of learning, which together produce a whole that is much larger than the sum of the parts. This foreign study double focus can be rendered graphically:

Dimensions of Intercultural/Conceptual Learning at the Program Site

In-class Learning	
Focus on:	*Mode:*
Target culture, big "c" generalizations about national or regional history, artifacts, institutions, beliefs, values, attitudes, etc.	Acquisition of knowledge
Culture *per se*, as meaning-making phenomenon	Analysis
Cultural structures embedded in the learner	Introspection, reflection
In-the-field Learning	
Focus on:	*Mode:*
Target culture, small "c" localized, observable, objectifiable milieux	Acquisition of knowledge
	Observation of a culture qua micro-context
	Interaction with the culture qua macro-context
	Introspection, reflection
	Non-judgmental analysis

Learning Outcomes

Intercultural and Conceptual Competence consisting of:

1. Perspective Consciousness. An insight into own, and by implication, universal processes of perceiving, believing, and valuing.

2. Empathetic Understanding. An ever-deepening understanding of, and respect for other systems of perception, believing, and valuing.

Some observations about this scheme are necessary. It is our assumption that classroom and field learning are equal and parallel tracks. By field learning we understand the processing of an experience at every level of the learner's affective and cognitive faculties. Such depth is critical because the changes in the perceptual framework that we encourage go far beyond training a student to perform a detached analytical operation. If we are asking them to examine the core of their sentient being, then we should know that such a pursuit must meld affect and cognition, classroom and field activities, and introspection and objective observation of external phenomena. Students cannot be passive in this model—only through active participation can they begin to examine the schemes they use to process and understand phenomena.

It should also be clear that cultural learning is not a matter of a learning unit, a corpus of knowledge or a defined set of skills. No single brilliant lecture or perfectly executed exercise can alone realize the full learning potential. To merely describe for the students the substrata that shape their malleable cultural identity is to reduce everything to an intellectualized and theoretical paradigm. To lead students one time only through a single activity that highlights the difference between preconception and perception probably won't internalize the lesson. Instead, there must be a combination of ongoing classroom work and continuing experiences combined with introspection, direct observation, and analysis.

Intercultural and Conceptual Competence and the Home-campus Classroom

Several researchers (Byrnes 1991, p. 210; Kramsch 1988, p. 108; Swaffar et al. 1991, p. 213) have described the enormous processing limitations that constrain apprentice readers in the L2 classroom. Because the home-campus L2 classroom cannot replicate C2 social reality, the meaning-making process in classrooms has a kind of disembodied and artificial quality to it. And apprentice readers regularly stumble because they lack the C2 familiarity to reliably construct meaning from texts that are, of course, culturally configured. That students may simply miss the point is the least of the hazards in such meaning-making encounters. Worse, students might apply their own frames of reference, and either bias the original meaning toward their own world or simply dismiss it as "meaningless."

Indeed, in their recent work on the ways current cohorts of American students process cultural difference, Lutz and Collins (1993) conclude that students deploy something like a *National Geographic* way-of-knowing. For Lutz and Collins *National Geographic* is far more than a publisher and a magazine. It is a cultural institution that purveys a kind of cultural lens with astonishing power and dispersion; it is estimated that each issue of the magazine is seen by thirty-seven million people worldwide. It is perceived as a reliable reference tool, collected and never thrown away. Lutz and Collins do not damn this magazine qua institution but do raise questions about the way it represents other realities. It does *not*, for example, compel empathy and identification nor render "thickly" the differences among cultures. On the one hand, it offers representations that are sometimes curious, seductive or shocking, and on the other, it shows a world characterized by an underlying sameness and friendliness. The *National Geographic* lens is not unauthentic or manipulative, but neither is it empathetic or self-reflective. In short, it aims to pique the reader's interest and if we are bored, puzzled, troubled, or irritated by what we perceive in the montage of photographs and text, then we just turn the page.

That L2 students sometimes violate, trivialize, or reject L2 texts does not testify to their arrogance or laziness, but rather to the irrepressible power of their own top-down habits. The *National Geographic* lens described above is just one kind of perceptual and cognitive style. To deploy acquired patterns of knowing and ordering the world is not an insidious response as Byrnes suggests (p. 210) but rather our *modus operandi* whenever we try to make meaning in unfamiliar settings. Whenever we hit a processing snag, a bulge of ambiguity, or a tangle of differences, we deploy all of our own top-down templates to filter out problems and make the process comfortable and "C1-friendly."

If we take an interactive or constructivist view of the reading process, L2 readers find themselves in an intolerable and insoluble dilemma. On the one hand, contemporary L2 instruction insists that texts be authentically embedded in the beliefs, attitudes, and values of the C2 and then, on the other, serves them up to L2 readers constrained by their C1 realities. Nevertheless, it should be possible to develop a kind of meta-awareness

about meaning-making processes in general that will make the students into readers who are more tolerant of ambiguity, more patient with "difference," more aware of their own biases, less willing to judge, less satisfied with surface meaning alone. This meta-awareness, we submit, is one of the byproducts of doing ethnography as it has been described above.

Indeed, we have taken a constructivist view that defines culture and ethnography just as much as it can define texts and the reading process. Geertz (1972) stresses the similarity of the reader's and ethnographer's enterprise with the extended metaphor that the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, that the anthropologist struggles to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong (p. 452). Within our paradigm we register again the notion of culture and ethnography as meaning-making processes and the stress on the struggle it is to construct faithfully other people's constructions of their reality. Geertz goes on to call the ethnographer's writings fictions, fictions in the sense of "something made," "something fashioned" and not in the sense of illusion and imaginary artifacts (p. 16). In the original meaning of *fictio* as construction, then, the ethnographer's work is very much like that of the reader and literary critic. In both instances, input that is not quite comprehensible is made into comprehensible input. In the study of cultures and of texts the processes of meaning construction are amazingly similar.

To interpret cultural "texts" (i.e., the lived patterns of a group) and to interpret L2 texts (i.e., the artifacts that serve as grist for our mill) are both meaning-making activities. We have stressed that ethnographers—and that includes our apprentice ethnographers—must develop a heightened sense of their own cultural and perceptual processes. This self-awareness and metacognition infuse the attitude, style, and method that mark the effective and responsible ethnographer as well as, we submit, the effective and responsible reader of L2 texts. In-the-field ethnographic activities, then, are the ideal complement to the home-campus classroom development of L2 reading and cultural competence.

We can never unlearn our acquired perceptual and cognitive templates, nor would we propose to do so. We *interact* with texts and, in the constructivist model, that is a natural and normal procedure. But there are times when we *interfere* with the inherent meanings in cultural and written texts and that is a different matter. In such cases our paradigm can inoculate students against the impulse to over-deploy a *National Geographic*—or any other monolithic way-of-knowing. L2 and C2 students can learn to "read" unfamiliar phenomena and artifacts. They can liberate themselves

from culturally constrained cognition and proceed on to a higher order of processing. The liberating and enabling metacognition that we associate with ethnography completes, then, our full sense of the intercultural and conceptual competence that is associated with successful ethnographic inquiry.

Foreign Study as a Learning Continuum: From Orientation to the Field

Orientation. The full range of possibilities in conducting predeparture orientation can be suggested with two extremes. For some educators the only proper orientation format is a series of lectures, that provide an overview of target culture systems and practice—politics, art, religion, economy, educational system, and so forth. Another view of orientation is that it should be wholly functional: Students should learn about youth hostel cards, rail passes, currencies, and just enough about local manners to keep them out of trouble at the program site. In reality, most orientations are a combination of both extremes: information *about* the practical aspects of travel as well as something *about* the institutions and the people the students will encounter.

The core program proposed in this essay assumes a more ambitious role for orientation as the first phase in a learning continuum. Indeed, many intercultural educators (Hanvey 1979; Hoopes 1979; Bennett 1986) have traced in detail the staged, developmental character of intercultural learning that culminates in ever higher orders of perceptual and cognitive processing. They also concur on the need to begin early in orientation to launch learners along this developmental learning curve. As soon as possible students need practice in distinguishing what they see from what they think and feel about it. They need to understand how the lenses with which their culture has fitted them work. We can't expect them to unpack and repack their cultural baggage before they depart, but they must understand that they even own and carry such baggage with them. The ethnographic paradigm has stressed that along this learning continuum we will teach about the perception/culture equation and will investigate the equation as something processual, a dynamic in which we all participate. To investigate culture in terms of this equation implies that we will investigate ourselves, so self-reflection and analysis must begin as early as possible.

Orientation can best be based on techniques developed by practitioners in the area of crosscultural training (Brislin 1993; Gudykunst and

Hammer 1983; Juffer 1993; McCaffery 1993; Summerfield 1993). This relatively new field helped train Peace Corps volunteers and has since expanded its clientele to include foreign service, military, and corporate personnel who need to function in intercultural contexts. Strategies from this field are useful in orientation because they combine experiential learning with reflective analysis and theoretical discussion. These strategies and materials can be used exactly as they are found in crosscultural training handbooks, or they can be changed to suit local needs. Indeed, the most successful orientation activities may be those that are produced locally. Anything that engages all of the students' learning faculties in order to make them into more patient, objective, and introspective cultural explorers is appropriate. Role plays, simulations, cultural assimilators, critical incidents, and self-awareness inventories would all be appropriate orientation activities.

As many meetings as possible should be committed to such exercises and in-depth debriefings. Information about the culture to be visited could be limited to assigned readings, and travel tips could be disseminated in locally produced handbooks. Some students may feel that an orientation that focuses on questions of perception is not relevant to their coming sojourn abroad, so it must be made clear that this is an empowering phase that will equip them to carry out their upcoming field assignments more effectively and help them adjust to the foreign site.

A central feature of orientation should be an attempt to make students perceptually aware by helping them recognize first hand the frames of reference in local cultural patterns. In orientation at Earlham College we sometimes ask students to describe the patterns of behavior typical for a series of familiar microcultures: a campus snack bar, dorm life, or a homecoming football game. Even though the students participate in these cultures, they are challenged when asked to describe objectively how they operate. Students come to realize that shared attitudes and expectations inform social behavior, and that they as members of a culture subconsciously understand and accept these codes. An even more meaningful exercise are those attempts by our students to observe and understand off-campus cultures ranging from local fast-food enterprises, stores, and sports events to local social agencies, church congregations, and residential neighborhoods. In this hands-on exercise the students submit *very* abbreviated mini-ethnographies, that are shared in orientation sessions. As modest as the exercise is, at least *some* of the determinants of human action are revealed and many students understand for the first time how the seemingly superficial and mundane is actually layered and complex.

Beyond learning something about themselves and the patterns of culture in which they are embedded, the students should also develop new powers of observation in such assignments. As the learners practice recording the details of a discrete cultural activity, they concentrate on a new objectivity, free of the almost innate tendency to compare, contrast, and judge things in terms of their own point of view. Such descriptions of local minicultures could be done individually or collectively, although there is a special benefit if the work is conducted by small groups. The mutual search for an objective rendering of the facts can effectively lead the observers to recognize and adjust their own internal frames of reference. Improved capability in patient observation and description will be critical in the field phase when students individually conduct projects in which they try to describe and understand events from the point of view of members of the host culture.

Students need to understand that in orientation they are not groping for correct answers to earn acknowledgment and reward from the teacher. In fact, the orientation facilitator needs to stress that there is no "right answer." The facilitator may comment on inaccuracies and bias in the students' descriptions but not in the sense that he or she is the authoritative keeper of the truth but rather a mentor encouraging the students to examine, understand, and perhaps even restructure their own perceptual processes.

Under the "outcomes" heading, this essay spoke of consciousness raising about the nature of perception. Indeed, the successful orientation should *begin* to make the students conscious of the relationship between culture and perception: cultural systems are not fixed patterns but rather dynamic perceptual processes. Through exploration, the students themselves pinpoint the key lessons they need to understand and then proceed on to personalization: "I, too, am a product of and participant in a perceptual cultural process." Cognizant of the workings of culture and conscious of themselves as cultural beings, the students are then ready for immersion in the culture. The new skills, knowledge, and awareness—several pegs further along on the learning continuum—are the outcomes under which all in-the-field learning will be subsumed. If the *laissez-faire* school of foreign study does no more than "place" underprepared individuals in foreign locales, our model equips students with a new awareness of perception, culture, themselves, and others by giving them methods for entering and understanding cultural microcontexts, such as interview techniques, and techniques of observation and description. They will continue to refine their awareness and methods in the next program phase, in which they

concentrate on the second facet of intercultural and conceptual competence—the development of empathetic understanding.

In the Field. Building on the orientation, this phase leads the students further along the cultural continuum by providing more knowledge about the host culture, and, of course, emphasizing interaction with the host culture. The tasks in the cultural immersion phase are undertaken *in addition to* the other academic courses studied at the program site, and constitute the core learning experience at *all* program sites—from the less familiar sites, such as Kenya and Japan, to the more typical ones, such as Britain or France. A full curriculum on foreign study thus might include, with some variation, foreign languages, history, theater, political science, literature, but *always* must include some variation on the following two projects: a reflective journal and a field project. As stated earlier, learning based solely on classroom examples, definitions, and taxonomies does not provide the comprehension, consciousness, and awareness attainable when we combine classroom learning with active participation in a learning experience. Just as many natural science courses require lectures and individual experimental work in the laboratory to complete the learning encounter, so too should learning about culture include classroom work to prepare for solo ethnographic investigation in the laboratory without walls, the host culture.

Reflective Journals. Although video and audio equipment are sometimes used, trained ethnographers still rely on note taking as the basic means of recording field data. Actual field notes as excerpted by Clifton (1986) demonstrate how intensive and extensive such a field journal actually is. Their extraordinary "thickness" consists of overheard conversations, interviews, observations, and analysis. There is a daily diary character about them but also a wrenching back and forth between subject and object, between the ethnographer's "I" and the informants' "They." Radin (1965) calls our attention to the wary and humble tone often detected in field notes, for trained ethnographers know the dangers in the method: that ethnographers, masters and knowers of all they survey, can persuade themselves that they know more than they actually do and that ethnographers can easily fall into speculation for its own sake.

In that our enterprise presumes a downsized version of ethnographic study, expectations about our students' field journals are also adjusted. As Spradley (1980) serves as our model of apprentice ethnography, so can

Nancy Taylor's handbook (1991) on journal keeping inform a more modest but still focused kind of field journal. As a portable handbook, it is essential gear for the undergraduate sojourner and is conceived in a practical "how to" manner with two audiences in mind: student sojourners as well as faculty who orient, accompany, or otherwise direct the sojourners' experience.

Although Taylor calls this instrument a travel journal and the ethnographic literature tends to speak of a field journal, we prefer to describe it in our own programming as a reflective journal. The journals are not merely a log of events but also an opportunity for students to reflect on experiences and attempt to analyze the event *as well as* their own interpretation of the event. By encouraging them to think actively about their own responses to the immersion experience, the journal becomes a self-reflective exercise that illuminates the way the individual processes the phenomena that he or she has experienced and observed. As an intellectual exercise, the journals make students more conscious of their own cultural values, biases, and judgments, and help them strive for the tolerance, patience, and empathetic insight of intercultural competence.

As an ongoing exercise in perceptual processing, the journal is only secondarily a way of gathering data about the host culture. The following questions guide the students and suggest the introspective nature of the journal: How do I feel about the new culture and the people I deal with regularly? What am I learning about people and institutions in the new culture? Which of my habits are suitable or unsuitable, and which are acceptable or unacceptable? What am I learning about myself by being here, and of my home culture by being away from it? The students could also discuss at length those events that had a particular impact on them. What is my initial emotional response to such an event? What is an objective description of the event? What is my best interpretation of the event? Have my description, feelings, or understanding of the event changed after more reflection and more experience? Have I avoided the trap of taking specific events and people for generalized events and people? We can now examine a representative sample of student journal entries and take measure of the degree to which students understood and internalized the preceding organizing queries. These entries are from the 1992 Earlham College Program in German-speaking Europe.

> I explained to my landlady, Frau Falsett, how surprised I was in Hamburg by the lack of greetings between strangers because when two

people met, who already knew each other, it was always a very warm greeting. As in the tradition back in my home state of Virginia, when I walked by someone in Hamburg, even though I didn't know them I always indicated some sort of greeting. It became clear to me that this was not the usual German approach. Besides the fact that essentially no one returned my greeting, many people seemed somewhat surprised and looked as if they didn't know what to do. I was puzzled.

After explaining this to Frau Falsett, she asked if I just greeted everyone like that including women? I said yes. She suggested that in the future I exercise more caution because I could get into a little trouble that way. Then Frau Falsett asked why Americans don't ever greet each other with a handshake. She had always found this somewhat puzzling but also a little rude. I asked her to explain what the standard way of greeting here in Germany was or how people went about it. She said that when people met, they shook hands. *Every time* they saw each other. This seemed curious. I liked the friendliness I sensed back home but also liked this way of acknowledging existing relationships by signaling "Even though you were on the other side of the room when I came in, you as a person are important enough to me that I want to greet you and press your hand." (Jeff)

When asked by my host family in Jena (East Germany) to talk about my hometown of New York City, I tried to be as objective as possible and gave a view that was more negative than positive. They told me that they had a friend in New York who had given them a mixed description as well. I could tell they didn't know what to believe. They still questioned and I think they still weren't satisfied that they had an "accurate" version of this "New York." Well, just for the record, I don't think many people have the same experience of NY and that different people see it as anything on the spectrum between heaven and hell. It seems that my host family in Jena is more skeptical, questioning, and suspicious than my previous host family in West Germany. I have no right to make an assumption about "Ossis" (East Germans) and "Wessis" (West Germans) but I have been wondering about their collective attitudes and their conditioning. I don't know if Ossies are in fact more skeptical in general than Wessis but it seems reasonable that because of their political and social history as a "people" they should be more skeptical and less trustful. The people living in the former East Germany have a lot of chaos going around them. A lot of uncertainty over their futures. Can we say they are skeptical as a people? I leave that open for now. (Kim)

I found the outdoor advertising in Jena (East Germany) interesting because you notice it more because you know you are in an ex-communist country. I also paid attention to it because my roommate and I could find our way home based on billboards as landmarks. Some of the advertisements or labels seemed especially gimmicky. The one that sticks in my mind was for a dishwashing detergent with the text "Wie Urlaub beim Spülen" (Dishwashing like being on Vacation). Margot, my host mother in Jena, talked about how after unification in 1990 everyone went out and bought the products they saw on TV even though they weren't any better than Eastern German products.

Margot's bathroom was large because it used to be a bedroom. There were two chairs and a counter and on the counter were a lot of different body care products such as perfumed lotion. It seemed almost like a symbol or display. Everything was carefully placed so that it was visually appealing. I don't know if they were Western German products and if my interpretation was correct that it was a conspicuous capitalistic display. It could simply be a matter of neatness or convenience not to have a cabinet for them. (Sarah)

How should we interpret this student work in light of our paradigm? In pre-departure orientation we tried to make the familiar unfamiliar and to problematize seeing and understanding. For Jeff, Kim, and Sarah, it seems the case that perceptual processing has indeed been problematized. Mundane things such as consumer products have become the object of reflection. Good. The students compare and contrast East and West German behavior building on what they are learning in their course work to bridge the gap between classroom and experiential learning. Good. Comparing and contrasting new experiences with what they already know is a normal kind of cognitive process but Kim and Sarah find easy closure difficult. Good. These entries cannot be mistaken for a diary-like protocol of lived experiences for there is far too much reflection by the students about themselves as cultural participants, observers, and interpreters. Good. C2 input from a not-too-exotic West European setting has become slightly incomprehensible and personally challenging. Good. These students are clearly on the road to the intercultural tolerance, patience, and empathetic understanding that we have posited as the central learning goal for a study sojourn abroad.

Expanding on Zarate (1990), the following seven feedback categories can serve as the hallmarks of good ethnographic journals. Apprentice ethnographers should demonstrate:

1. an ability to create in the journal a sense of locality and familiarity and clearly state the conditions under which the ethnographer came to observe or participate in the microculture;
2. an ability to assess the nodes of explicit sociological relevance in a given slice of C2 culture;
3. an ability to factor out implicit meanings in the observed phenomena;
4. an ability to reflect on the antecedents that shape observed behavior;
5. an ability to recreate in the journal possible shifts in perspective by both informant and ethnographer;
6. an ability to make the very act of gathering information into an object of analysis;
7. an ability to compare and contrast, when appropriate, home culture and target culture and to generalize, when appropriate, about micro-context and macro aspects of the host culture. (p. 257)

Using these hallmarks as guidelines, a group leader could periodically take up the student journals and provide feedback. If there is no group leader, the journals could periodically be mailed back to the home campus for commentary from someone in, say, the International Programs Office or Foreign Language Department. With the above inventory as a template on good journal keeping, we hope to have demonstrated that teacher feedback to students, such as Jeff, Kim, and Sarah is not difficult. Encouragement and suggestions should keep students aware of the difference between empirical and ethnographic knowledge, should build on the learning that began in orientation and should provide essential practice for the next task, a field project.

Field Projects. In orientation activities and in the reflective journals students consider questions of culture and perception in preparation for the field project, the most challenging task in the entire continuum. While the sojourners are immersed in the culture and living it, all of the learning acquired in their readings, discussions and self-reflection will be brought to bear in the attempt to describe a discrete aspect of the host culture. As the students launch their descriptive work, we bear down heavily on two questions from Spradley (1980) that serve as basic points of departure in ethnographic inquiry: What do I see these people doing? What do these people see themselves doing? (p. 8) Because full delineation of our model

of ethnographic inquiry beyond the two Spradley queries is impossible within the scope of this essay, we refer program designers and field leaders to the book-length discussions by Spradley (1980), Agar (1980, 1985), and Byram and Esarte-Sarries (1991) for a comprehensive "how-to" overview of ethnographic data-gathering and interpretation strategies.

If the lessons of the orientation and the journals have been internalized, the students should be able to respond to Spradley's essential questions. They will be alert to the tension between the way one's own cultural lenses distort or obscure the details of the landscape and the need to maintain objectivity in recording the observed events and patterns defined by the field project. They must always keep in mind the distinction between observation and judgment of the observed behavior and the need to describe and analyze the ethnographic data in terms of the people who are involved. This is not an easy undertaking, but the effort in trying to remain neutral and penetrate to the meaning in the phenomenon will impel the learners further along the learning continuum.

Yet there is an even more fundamental practical question—how to get the students started with their field projects. They can only begin once they understand that the object of their investigation will not be the Austrians, the Japanese, or the Colombians per se. Instead, they need a clear sense of what defines *a* culture and how to identify *one* microculture that can hold their attention and is manageable. We must suggest to the students that a nearly infinite range of social behavior can constitute a culture suitable for investigation: an amateur soccer team, a cooperative day care center, relations in a rural family, an open air market, child-rearing practices, cafe behavior, children's playground games, spectator behavior at a sports event, a home for the elderly, or even a sushi bar. One of the hallmarks of an appropriate topic is that it could not be studied in standard classroom format or in a library research project. Instead, the goal is to unravel the set of codes and shared understandings that inform cultural behavior by gathering facts through observation and by interviewing and interacting with the informants, the participants in the culture being studied. Appendix 1 gives a list of sample ethnographies from the hundreds of microcontexts described by Earlham College students in recent years. The titles suggest cultural scenes that are well defined and localized, patterns that the students can circumscribe and "enter" more easily.

The students' field projects should be a representation of the way others organize their activities and why they do so in such a manner. As such, the reports mirror another cultural reality but also reflect the students'

own culture learning experience. The reports are both means and end, a process as well as a product. In spite of the kinship between the field projects and professional ethnography, we can only restate that our goal is not to train future anthropologists but to use the tools of ethnographic inquiry to move students along an intercultural conceptual curve.

Consistent with our paradigm, the program leader should not function in regard to the field projects as the "expert," as the "teacher," but rather as a guide and facilitator of learning. This may be perceived as a diminished responsibility when compared to on-campus teaching, but it is an appropriate role for Earlham College program leaders. Although we may have borrowed heavily from the fields of crosscultural training and anthropology, we certainly don't want to limit recruitment of program leaders to professional trainers and anthropologists. Instead, we assume that any serious faculty member could serve as a leader by preparing through readings and discussions with previous leaders.

We conclude with a reminder of the hazard implicit in asking novices to engage in ethnographic inquiry. In our downsized version of ethnography, sojourners seem competent enough in deciding what and how to observe. Having gathered and recorded their data, they then proceed to the most demanding ethnographic operation, the interpretation of the observed phenomena. Indeed, interpretation is often the high-friction contact point between the conscious push toward an emic reading of things and the natural impulse to apply one's own cognitive templates and prototypes. And in a dramatic escalation of complexity it appears that the more layered and ambiguous the observed phenomena are, the more likely the interpreters are to haphazardly deploy their own schemata. It is in this capstone crucible of interpretation that the most heat is generated and the most warping can take place.

While we have stressed throughout that we cannot inoculate against ethnographer-bias, we have nevertheless insisted that sojourners are capable of constructing meanings that are increasingly less encumbered by the ethnographer's own meaning system. We have no expectation that students can ever shed their own schemata and produce completely neutral and objective readings. However, although we know that meaning is always mediated we also know as classroom teachers that with a general sense of ethnographic procedures and enough ethnographic feedback students can produce text interpretations that are increasingly *less* encumbered by existing codes and cues. It is by design, then, that we have built in a double focus in the in-the-field paradigm: on the observed object (the

culture *per se*) and on the observer. Seen this way, interpretation becomes less a point of maximum weakness and hazard in the developmental chain and more a point of maximum leverage.

At this point in the paradigm the sojourners will soon be homeward bound, but we do not claim that the student voyagers, now more culturally and conceptually competent, have completed their *Bildungsreise*, their travelling apprenticeship. Indeed, many institutions, including Earlham College, build in a formal re-entry program to maximize the transition to the home-campus curriculum. However, because re-entry programming falls more strictly within the purview of the literature on international education than within the scope of this volume, we will not discuss re-entry and refer only to the recent work of Martin (1993) and Burn (1991) focused on articulation between off-campus and on-campus learning.

Conclusion

Our paradigm of culture learning has tried to address a set of dichotomies. First, there is the tension between culture-as-content and culture-as-process. On the one hand, there is E. D. Hirsch's (1988) definition of cultural literacy as the background knowledge generated and shared by the literate members of a community. On the other is Crawford-Lange and Lange's (1984) dictum to teach culture-as-process and not as transmittable knowledge. We agree with both and in our paradigm we collapse the gap separating the two extremes by stressing content/context *and* process. Learners must indeed enlarge their C2 knowledge base but at the same time they must systematically learn something about culture-as-perceptual-process and unlearn cultural myopia and perceptual bias.

Second, there is the tension implied in learner-centered versus text- and C2-centered approaches. We are not giving free reign to the learners who come to the interpretive task in their natural top-down ways nor are we girding the texts in never-to-be-understood differentness. We are privileging neither the learner nor the cultural pattern and artifact but rather the meaning-making process *per se*. We emphasize instead the relational ways in which cultural artifacts, cultural insiders, and apprentice ethnographers make meaning. Precisely because meaning is negotiated in such epiphenomenal ways we stress a metacognition that may enable the learners to ever so slowly become competent and confident in the field and in the classroom.

Third, there is the tension inherent in intercultural and conceptual

learning as both liberation *and* constraint. In learning to navigate on their own and understand the variables that impact on their journey, sojourners transcend some of the barriers that distance them from unfamiliar artifacts, individuals, and cultures. This liberation has an implied cost, for it is unlikely that student travelers will return home the same as when they left. This should not suggest that they become alienated from their home culture for the rest of their lives. On the contrary, their transformed and enlightened sense of self and culture should make them into knowing members of their culture instead of being merely specimens of their particular group.

If students find the return to their home culture difficult, they probably also found it nearly impossible to integrate themselves thoroughly and become members of the foreign culture while overseas. An alternative category then, in terms of cultural identity, is membership in a "third" culture. Members of this third culture are bound together by their experience of liberation from perceptual ties that bind and by their empathy, awareness, and tolerance. To a degree, members of the third culture can peer over the barriers that separate us and recognize that, although we may be single specimens of a culture, we are also members of a species, a species whose imagination is capable of generating an inexhaustible variety of cultural configurations. To be part of the third culture, then, is to understand the strength, substance, and pattern in the web of culture and by so doing, escape this web to recognize the diversity and dignity of all humankind.

Fourth, there is the separation between off-campus and on-campus curricula. At the heart of our paradigm is the parallel character of in-the-field ethnography and on-campus learning in pursuit of the literacy described by Jurasek and Jurasek (1991) and Swaffar et al. (p. 213). Both curricula are proficiency based: off-campus students deploy newly learned strategies in order to read cultures on their own terms just as on-campus students learn to read texts on their own terms. In both curricula, students hunt for describable patterns, attitudes, behaviors, and patterns and at both sites they slowly learn how to function in other realities informed by other peoples' epistemologies. Our paradigm exploits the similarities in methods and goals to produce an articulated curriculum that more closely approximates the ideal of liberal education.

Finally, our paradigm emphasizes the process of generating ethnographic knowledge and this practice, we suggest, is infinitely flexible in application. Ethnographic inquiry is adaptable and appropriate whether the learners are in "enclaved" programs (variations of the students' home-campus curriculum taught by home-campus faculty or special host-culture faculty), or in "sheltered" programs (sojourners are separated from host nationals in study centers catering to foreigners), or "immersed" (students are directly enrolled in host country educational institutions). Even if the ethnographic process is downsized and the product is modest, we still rest our case that *any* progress along the generic intercultural developmental curve is worth the effort.

We conclude by claiming that our generic paradigm is at its heart humanistic and universal and that it gives the lie to the charge that foreign study is for the few with little purposeful application for the many. Indeed, we have proposed a core experience built upon the training of apprentice ethnographers who can transform the Grand Tour into a functional and potent learning experience.

Appendix 1

Sample student ethnographies, Earlham College Programs, 1988–93, in Northern Ireland, Mexico, Spain, England, France, Japan, Kenya, Austria, Colombia.

Northern Ireland: Save the Children youth farm; an integrated (Protestant and Catholic) school; the Belfast Women's Center; the Derry Peace and Reconciliation Group.

Mexico: A government-sponsored daycare center; kitchen culture; a homeopathic medical practice; a traditional dairy farm; a local political campaign; a Mariachi band in Cuautla; The Mormon church in Cuautla; community theater in Cuautla.

Spain: Health food stores in La Caruna; a religious order of nuns; a tuna fishing business; street vendors; an apartment complex and its concierge; an ethnography of fire fighters; the central youth hostel in Valencia.

England: St. Martin's Youth Project; a music cooperative; a training center for religious leadership; a resettlement center for the homeless; a support center for street kids.

France: Public transportation; vegetable and fruit markets; a neighborhood *patisserie;* Paris subway musicians; Montparnasse—an area and its people in transition; *bureaux de tabac*; a ballet studio; *SOS Racisme*, a multicultural education center.

Japan: A martial arts club; punk rocker culture; a home for the elderly; a small-town junior high school.

Kenya: A funeral; cows: care, beliefs, costs, functions; storytelling in the host family; women's sales activities on market days; building a traditional house.

Austria: A Jewish students' organization; a cultural center for Turkish children; street musicians; an ice skating club; a paramedic unit; a fitness center.

Colombia: A gay and lesbian rights organization; a childrens' theater; an Afro-Colombian organization; a womens' support group.

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Searching for Averroes: Reflections on Why It is Desirable and Impossible to Teach Culture in Foreign Language Courses

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In certain quarters, the suspicion lingers that teaching language does not merit the intellectual respect of teaching other subjects. I've never understood this. Why, for goodness sake, is teaching students about atomic weights or cactus reproduction more "intellectual" than teaching the expressive system of another language, complete with conjugations, declensions, and the like? Similarly, I occasionally sense that the fervor voiced for teaching "culture" as part of a foreign language program might stem from a related suspicion that culture is content, whereas language is "just a skill." In this article, I offer no support for such idiocy. Helping students understand how linguists organize language through grammar (yes, the g-word) and to express themselves and try to understand others in another language is perfectly defensible in its own right without all that stuff about, "Well, what we're really doing is teaching culture. . . ." Nonetheless, since teaching "culture" is something we language teachers are expected to do, I hope the reader will indulge me some observations on the subject. I direct my attention particularly toward third-year courses whose titles often include the word "culture": e.g., "Introduction to the Culture and Civilization of. . . ."

Not surprisingly, such courses usually end up being crash studies in cultural literacy, a kind of accumulation of culture capsules not unlike those that punctuate first-year language textbooks and comprise E. D. Hirsch's famous (as well as profitable) lists. At best such courses give stu-

dents information that may prove useful in future studies or in situations that value the trappings of "culture"—e.g., opera intermissions and fancy cocktail parties. At worst, civilization courses merely provide lists of facts students promptly forget after finishing the final exam. I do not dispute the importance of learning facts, nor do I question the usefulness (albeit limited) of "cultural literacy" à la Hirsch. Indeed, with some chagrin I confess that one of the most useful (that word again) undergraduate courses I ever took consisted of little more than memorizing the names and dates of Spanish-American writers and their works; this information stood me in good stead throughout my graduate training and still comes in useful (!) occasionally in the rarefied world of specialized literary study. In sum, if I may be allowed a silly understatement, having students learn facts is hardly a bad thing.

As language and culture teachers, however, we should consciously move beyond cultural literacy and its lists, and understand that the most difficult aspect of cultural studies is not learning facts, but learning new ways of seeing. By looking at how we look, we soon recognize that we often do not see particularly well. This is especially true when the cultures under study are far removed from us in time and space. For example, on the basis of our own culture, it is fairly safe to assume that all cultures construct sexual mores in some way or other. The exact substance of those constructions, however, are much harder to perceive, particularly given the cultural blinders we bring to our observations.

The limiting power of preconceptions is repeatedly brought to my attention—and I hope to my students'—in an introductory course on Spanish American civilization, a course I have taught several times and still enjoy enormously. Despite its high-sounding title, the course is essentially a third-year language course with cultural readings and discussions. Or, to use that offensive term and concept, it is the students' first "content" course in Spanish, as though more elementary language courses were devoid of content. (See above about atomic weights and cactus reproduction.) Much of the course studies the conquest and colonization of what is now Spanish America, an obvious and necessary point of departure for any discussion of modern Spanish American culture.

The first problem that emerges in this course is not so much what students don't know but what they think they know. As heirs to a notoriously anti-Hispanic historiography with roots going back at least as far as the multidimensional rivalry between Spain's Philip II and England's Elizabeth I, my students usually "know" that all Spaniards involved in the

conquest and colonization of Spanish America were native-killing, virgin-raping, ecology-destroying, germ-carrying, gold-grubbing monsters whose very existence proves the reality of evil and the necessity of Hell.

That they have learned such reductionist nonsense does not surprise. So much of what passes for education in today's overheated debates about canonicity and multiculturalism seems to respond to the notion that we should learn just enough about any subject to dismiss it from further discussion. This principle of "dismissability" has become such a hallmark of American popular knowledge that in my more cynical moments I've considered offering a course on the one thing students should know about every subject in order to dismiss it forever, a list if you will of "tiny truths." Such tiny truths might include the following: Richard Wagner was anti-Semitic; Nietzsche said God was dead; Thomas Jefferson attacked slavery but had slaves himself; Marx said religion was the opiate of the people; Ezra Pound sympathized with Italian Fascism; feminists want to exclude Plato from the curriculum; Colombia is a major drug supplier; the reading list for the Spanish major is mostly male; the humanities curriculum is Eurocentric, etc.

While all these statements may contain tiny truths and certainly deserve discussion, prolonging discussion is seldom their object. Rather, they serve to prove the speaker knowledgeable enough, stop the discussion, and move on to yet another tiny truth. Think of it! With a little imagination we could end virtually any discussion with a simple, one-sentence dismissal. Consider the scintillating conversations such knowledge could engender! The dinner conversations! The intermission one-liners! But I stray from my subject.

In the civilization course mentioned above, my students invariably "know" something about the Spanish conquest and, as is often the case with proud possessors of tiny truths, they resist learning anything else. After all, once the ability to dismiss is attained, why go further? To remedy this situation, I first of all do not dispute that the Spanish conquest of America was often marked by unspeakable savagery. But I also try to point out that the Spaniards' behavior fits a basic pattern of history in which brutality, greed, and intolerance always play central roles. After all, when it comes to cultural expansion, ours has never been a particularly lovable species. We need go no further than European history, even in our own time, to find countless examples of indescribable butchery that matches the Spaniards' barbarity in ferocity and exceeds it in scale. I further note that we owe much of our knowledge about the destructiveness of certain

Spaniards to the writings of other Spaniards, Father Bartolomé de las Casas for example, who tried to stop the savagery by writing detailed accounts of the abuses to provoke the Spanish moral conscience. (In this, he and like spirits found some success.)

But most of all, I try to get students to look at the artifacts of the culture in question. With slides, recordings, readings, and videos, I introduce them to a material record that includes splendid cities, fabulous buildings, magnificent paintings, and musical compositions, and a fascinating, varied population deeply marked by a Spanish imprint of which language is only one part. I then ask the obvious question: How do native killing, virgin raping, ecology destroying, germ carrying, and gold grubbing relate to such accomplishments? At this point, even my most ardent possessors of tiny truths confess that there might be more to the story.

To understand what that "more" might include, however, requires a cultural sensitivity seriously impeded by the students' own cultural paradigms. I relate but one example. Recently, I had students in a civilization course read excerpts from three of the Spanish conquest's most important chronicles: Christopher Columbus's diary, Hernán Cortez's letters to King Charles V, and the memoirs of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, one of Cortez's foot soldiers. My students' assignment was to ascertain these men's motives as suggested in the texts themselves, or said differently, to try to see the conquest through the eyes of its participants. Not surprisingly, my students found and reproduced every reference to the possibility of finding gold and largely overlooked everything else. In short, they saw what they had already seen, much like the home gardener who visits Redwood National Forest and says, "Look Mabel, there's some ivy." I then walked them through the texts and pointed out how virtually every paragraph includes a reference to either God, the Catholic religion, the King, or the Glory of Spain, and that these references occur with much greater frequency than those to gold. With numerical frequency on my side, I then asked my students why not a single one of them had seen such references as indications of motive.

My students' answers were enormously revealing. Some assumed that references to God, Church, and King were a kind of linguistic crutch, with no real meaning at all, sort of like the way the current generation introduces every other sentence with "like" or the way a charming southerner of my acquaintance qualifies every "yes" with "Lord willin, 'n the creek don't rise." Others saw such references as convenient lies by which the chroniclers masked their real motives, which as everyone "knows" were gold, power, and sex. Others said that such references were strategic maneuvers, Machiavellian gambits for gaining favors from powerful rulers and hierarchs. Still others, armed with tiny truths from Marx, Freud, and Foucault, argued that what the conquistadors said really didn't matter since sophisticated, modern readers could discern the truth regardless of the evidence.

What most surprised me, however, was that *not a single student* took references to God and King at face value, namely, as indications that belief in imperial expansion as a divinely sanctioned enterprise was as self-evident to the chroniclers as the belief in air is to us. We do not see air, yet I doubt anyone reading this page doubts its existence. For the sixteenth-century chroniclers, belief in God as the justifier and sustainer of their cause was just as automatic, just as assured, as is our sense that we are breathing a real, albeit invisible, substance. Moreover, the Spaniards' success in routing the natives and founding a Hispano-Catholic society was proof to them of God's approbation and just as convincing as any proof of the existence of air might be to us.

What my students faced in this instance was not a linguistic failure, for understanding the words and the grammar posed little problem for them; rather, their failure was one of culture, a failure to see the world through the eyes of others. That failure was perhaps inevitable, for even the believers in my class, products of a modernized Christianity and Judaism whose God keeps a tasteful distance, could not conceive of a truly omnipresent god who would take sides with Spanish Christians against relatively defenseless natives. Asking anyone in this century, myself included, to truly understand, much less feel and smell, the Counter-Reformation god of the Conquest is simply asking too much, and yet, somehow, it is my task as a teacher of culture to ask exactly that, over and over again.

Religious sentiment, however, was not all that eluded my students. Although the chroniclers seldom complain of hardship, their constant references to God and Glory strike me as a kind of self-reassurance to bolster their courage and help them prove their mettle as men. For coupled with their personal conviction is their defiance in the face of overwhelming odds. Despite omnipresent physical hardship and mortal danger, they persisted. Think of Cortez scuttling his own ships so that none of his men could desert and thus marooned himself and his men in hostile territory. Think of the disease and dysentery that killed over half the Spanish conquerors and invaders. Think of the millions of natives who could rise at any time against Cortez's small band of soldiers. Think of the near impen-

etrable terrain between Veracruz and Mexico City through which Cortez and his men struggled with cannon, supplies, and a very few horses. Think, if nothing else, of the bugs! Yet the Spaniards drove on, sustained by a belief in the holiness of their mission and their drive for self-vindication, their need to prove their individual worth.

Did they want gold? Of course they did. Acquiring riches was the simplest way for individuals to prove their worth in the eyes of others (things haven't changed much in this regard), but most important was their need to prove they had not failed, or if they failed, to do so heroically, to die well. Their belief in God and King sustained their sense of self-worth, or said differently, God, King, and self-vindication were for them a single package. Acquiring gold for oneself and the king, who demanded his *quinto real* or "royal fifth," was in some sense a way of keeping score. Or we might say, the conquistadors, the missionaries, and the colonizers who overcame unimaginable odds to marry the Old Word to the New were driven by a sense of the heroic.

Heroic. What an old-fashioned word! If the Spaniards' religious sentiment eludes us, their sense of heroism is even more distant—to both me and my students. Can anyone in this generation of intellectuals hear military marches, read patriotic verse, or see emblazoned on the walls of a prestigious university the slogan, "For God, for Country, and for Yale" without sniggering? The sense of the heroic that was second nature to the conquistadors is most likely closed to us forever. Recognizing how much savagery has been committed in the name of heroism, I do not necessarily consider this a bad thing. Yet, as a teacher of culture and a product of this age, I must recognize that neither my students nor I will ever hear Beethoven as Beethoven heard himself and that Delacroix's paintings of battles will often strike us as over-wrought, messy, and downright sentimental. In sum, as with religious sentiment, the sense of the heroic as felt by the men who wrote the chronicles is quite simply beyond our ken.

As a teacher of culture, I am thus faced with teaching something I see through a glass darkly (if at all) and perhaps the best I can do is show students that they don't see any better, that uncertainty is the beginning of wisdom. Is there any way out of this impasse? Someone who has helped me a great deal in this dilemma happens to be one of my favorite writers, the Argentinean master, Jorge Luis Borges. Indeed, with his help I've come to find success in failure and an effective way of getting students to do the same. Let me explain how.

In "Averroes' Search," a story I now require in every civilization class I teach, Borges tells of a great transcultural failure. A historical figure, Averroes was the Arabic scholar who, in twelfth-century (1126–1198) Muslim Spain, translated Aristotle from Greek into Arabic and thereby made it available for later translations into medieval Latin through which Aristotle influenced the whole of modern Western Civilization. At the beginning of the story, Borges goes to great lengths to identify Averroes with his culture, his language, his place, his religion, his literary tradition. Like the conquistadors, Borges's Averroes suffers no cultural identity crisis. He is one with himself, his culture, and his history. Yet, as a product of a culture with no theatrical tradition, he is faced with a singular translation problem; he simply cannot understand what Aristotle means with the terms "tragedy" and "comedy." As he ponders these strange words' meanings, he is distracted by three boys playing in the yard outside his window. One of the boys pretends to be the muezzin who calls the faithful to prayer; this first boy is perched on the shoulders of a second boy who plays the role of the minaret; a third boy prostates himself in front of the other two, pretending to represent the faithful in prayer. Since all three boys want to be the muezzin and no one wants to be the congregation, much less the minaret, the game soon ends. But it lasts long enough for us to see how spectacularly Averroes misses the point.

Averroes fully observes the boys' game, which is obviously an act of representation, a bit of theater, if you will. Yet, he turns from the scene not realizing at all that the boys have shown him the meaning of Aristotle's difficult words. In short, Averroes can see but not recognize. Like my students and me who can read words about religious and heroic sentiment without understanding them, Averroes cannot perceive what lies outside his own experience. The story contains another example of theater in which a traveler, recently returned from China, reports on witnessing Chinese theater. Averroes and other Muslim sages dismiss such a practice as the work of men who, if not mad, are surely impractical since narration of the type found in the Koran is more efficient (i.e., one narrator can tell the story whereas representation requires numerous actors and a stage); further, representation is in some sense improper since the Koran as the ultimate example of artistic propriety includes narrative but not theater.

In these simple incidents Borges questions our ability to ever comprehend fully the culture of others. He inverts our sense of knowledge as a constantly growing body of truth and suggests that our awareness of the world will always be limited to what we already know, that if we do not have prior mental categories for processing perception, we like Averroes see

with neither recognition nor understanding. Thus, Averroes, despite seeing theater in the boys' game and hearing of Chinese theater from the visitor, ends up saying, "Aristu (Aristotle) gives the name of tragedy to panegyrics and that of comedy to satires and anathemas. Admirable tragedies and comedies abound in the pages of the Koran and in the *mohalacas* of the sanctuary."[1]

Yet, lest we yield to any temptation to patronize Averroes in his failure, Borges ends his story with a personal confession:

> In the foregoing story, I tried to narrate the process of a defeat. . . . I remembered Averroes who, closed within the orb of Islam, could never know the meaning of the terms *tragedy* and *comedy*. I related his case; as I went along, I felt . . . that the work was mocking me. I felt that Averroes, wanting to imagine what a drama is without ever having suspected what a theater is, was no more absurd than I, wanting to imagine Averroes . . . I felt, on the last page, that my narration was a symbol of the man I was as I wrote it and that, in order to compose that narration, I had to be that man and, in order to be that man, I had to compose that narration, and so on to infinity. (The moment I cease to believe in him, "Averroes" disappears.) (p. 155)

Borges's confession suggests that Averroes' failure to understand Aristotle anticipated Borges's own inability to understand Averroes. Such failure has enormous and, at first glance, negative implications for teaching culture. For the underlying assumptions suggest that someone from one culture can never understand someone from another, that we are hermetically sealed in a radical cultural subjectivity in which we see only what we have already seen and know only what we have already learned.

Borges, however, subtly belies such a negative conclusion a couple of paragraphs earlier in an aside that on first reading of the story appears digressive but on reflection resolves, partially at least, the solipsistic negativity of the conclusion. In a meeting with other Islamic sages, one of them, Abdalmalik, quotes a line of poetry by the Arabic poet Zuhair that compares destiny to being trampled by a blind camel. Abdalmalik condemns Zuhair's line as banal, a "figure that can no longer marvel us" (p. 153). Borges' Averroes, however, disagrees, noting that:

> Many things could be offered in response to this objection. The first, that if the purpose of the poem is to surprise us, its life span would not be measured in centuries, but in days and hours and perhaps minutes. The second, that a famous poet is less of an inventor than he is a discoverer. . . . The image one man can form is an image that touches no one. There are infinite things on earth; any of them may be likened to any other. . . . However, there is no one who has not felt at some time that destiny is clumsy and powerful, that it is innocent and also inhuman. For that conviction, which may be passing or continuous, but which no one may elude, Zuhair's verse was written. What was said there will not be said better. Besides (and this is perhaps the essential part of my reflections), time, which despoils castles, enriches verses. Zuhair's verse, when he composed it in Arabia, served to confront two images, the old camel and destiny; when we repeat it now, it serves to evoke the memory of Zuhair and to fuse our misfortune with that dead Arab's. (pp. 153–54)

In this passage, Borges intimates that, since there were no camels, blind or otherwise, in Averroes' Spain, the imagery of the verse should have proven incomprehensible to Spanish Arabs. Yet, Averroes points out that he (and by implication the modern reader) understands something of the verse, not because of any familiarity with camels but because of a sense of collective human destiny that links us to the poetic insight objectified in Zuhair's imagery. Or said differently, what we do not share in knowledge about camels, we do share in our common experience of the arbitrariness of destiny, the unpredictability of ambition, the inevitability of fate.

This implication belies the radical subjectivity of Borges' confession quoted earlier by suggesting that a common human essence, however varied its cultural expressions, unites us and therefore makes it worthwhile for Borges to try to understand Averroes as Averroes tried to understand Aristotle. But most important, the story ineluctably pulls us, my students and me, into this chain of partial understanding as we try to understand Borges and in the process try to understand *ourselves* trying to understand Borges, as Borges tried to understand Averroes, and Averroes tried to understand Aristotle. It further counsels us to anticipate that such attempts will never entirely succeed, that we see through a glass darkly because that is the only we can see. Or said quite differently, Borges' story in some sense is a call to intellectual modesty, to a world where ultimate conclusions do not exist.

Which brings me back to the challenges and opportunities of teaching culture. I would feel enormously disappointed if my students left my culture and civilization course feeling that they had successfully entered the mind of the conquistadors, that they now knew *all* about faith in God, loyalty to king, and commitment to heroic endeavor. Rather, I want them to grasp the difficulty of entering another culture, of comprehending the

collective and individual mind of its members. I want them to realize that all of us look at many things that we will never see, since our ability to see is largely limited by what we have already seen. And I want them to understand that no matter how much we—they and I—study, our understanding will always be incomplete and subject to revision. In short, in some sense I want them to fail as I continually fail, and I want them to be aware of their failure.

But this is not a failure that leads to pessimism. Rather, it is a failure that invites us to wonder at the world's complexity, marvel at the richness of its cultures, and rejoice in the excitement of striving towards an understanding that can never be complete. While we can disguise the lists of cultural literacy in textbooks, films, culture capsules, activities, and academic degree programs, we cannot abandon them. But we can recognize that such lists are by definition incomplete and always subject to revision. And we can avoid letting those lists become a means of feigning knowledge we do not have, of thinking that we understand everything we can name. Teaching culture is an invitation for students to enter an unending dialogue with another human community. Our search for the conquistadors in a time far removed from our own, our search for people of other cultures in our own time, our search for Borges as he searched for Averroes just as Averroes searched for Aristotle, our search for ourselves as we watch ourselves search for others—this is the true challenge and blessing of teaching culture. May we always fail, and may our striving never cease to bring us the excitement of continual discovery.

Notes

1. Jorge Luis Borges, "*Averroes' Search*," translated by James E. Irby. In *Labyrinths*, Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby, eds. New York: New Directions, 1964. p. 155.

Part V

Language Learning Environments and Their Boundaries

The Electronic Language Learning Environment

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Introduction

The problem facing many language program directors at this moment is that their training and experience offer little practical help in dealing with the challenges of language study in the context of the new information technologies. At the same time, directors are aware of the need to provide adequate facilities and training for the graduate students under their direct or indirect care. This chapter is intended to provide at least a conceptual basis for contemplating the kinds of change that language and literature specialists will have to consider in the decade ahead. Suggestions for practical solutions will be made as well, with the usual caveat concerning any particular approach at a time when improvements and fundamental changes in the technological design of computers are appearing in the marketplace at a rapid pace.[1]

The "information explosion" of the modern era has produced an enormous amount of material to sort through, let alone digest. The computer is only the latest in a series of technological innovations designed to cope with the problem. The codex book introduced the practice of page numbering, then indices, concordances, and card catalogues to facilitate cross-referencing. As books became widely available, the technique of silent reading evolved, first among scholars, then as standard pedagogical practice in grade school. Disposable newspapers, likewise, required new, "hypertext," habits of the reader, who had to learn to scan large amounts of text for relevant information presented in discontinuous, or nonlinear, form. Historian of technology and communication Harold Innis pointed out that the information explosion was given its modern impetus by the

shift from flatbed press to roller press. Eric Havelock (1991) reports that Innis "leapt to the conclusion that the mass media of modernity did not give modern man time to think" (p. 14).

Innis put his finger on the heart of the matter for the educator: How are we to create useful knowledge from so much information? The computer is a superb device for sorting information, but it also produces more information to sort. Information in digital form means, for example, that a single compact disc can store the complete works of Shakespeare or the entire corpus of classical Greek. Networks can provide library-sized sources of texts in electronic form at the scholar's desk-top computer. Secondary source materials in electronic form for the individual researcher have grown enormously. As demonstrated by the Dartmouth Dante Project, scholarly writing on this single poet could not be read meaningfully in a lifetime. So much information in so many forms forces the epistemological issue: What are the means, limits, and value of knowing? To what end are we expanding the tools for scholarly research? What is the modern definition of a "definitive study"? What are the boundaries of a discipline that incorporates easily the primary data of other disciplines?

These questions require thoughtful answers from the academic computing community. Scholars in the past were quick to exploit the potential of writing and print technologies for expanding and extending their knowledge base. They are not likely to ignore the potential of the new information technology for their work. On the practical level, many prefer a word processor to a typewriter simply because they like the way it supports both productivity and creativity (Noblitt 1988b). Many scholars use email and online bibliographic searches for their work, and the demand for these services is likely to increase. This means that the new technology competes for resources of time and money at a moment when the educational establishment perceives itself as hard-pressed to support even basic research and teaching. Even if the technology becomes widely available, specialists will need to gain experience in the intelligent use of computing in their own discipline. This knowledge is more likely to be gained through hands-on experience with the medium itself than through programmatic means. At this writing, I am aware of few graduate programs that incorporate formal training in the use of information technology for research and teaching, although educators are reporting increased access to, and use of, computers (Green and Eastman 1994).

As the writers of the Toronto School of Communication Studies pointed out in the 1960s, the broadcast media posed new aesthetic and

intellectual considerations for the modern era (Murray 1989). Information technology and its multimedia capabilities will doubtless have an even greater transformative effect on scholarship and teaching. We already see that courses in film studies, for example, can incorporate increased attention to theatrical interpretation with the use of computer-controlled media in digital form. The important point is that the computer aids in using the primary material of the discipline as an object of study. The issue of concern for academics is not so much the value of the new technology as it is the institutional implications for working with the new medium. Assuming that valuable and original scholarship can be created in electronic format, it will still be necessary to establish peer review procedures for quality assurance. Those working in the digital medium thus may not, in the short term, enjoy the traditional system of rewards and funding that have grown up around the medium of print. Given the cost of electronic equipment, what policies will govern the intelligent use of public and private funds that will be applied to the implementation of new approaches?

Answers to the questions raised above may well take different forms for different disciplines. Professionals in the various fields of language study will have important contributions to make in advancing our thinking about how the coming changes are to be managed. The really interesting discussions are thus more likely to be concerned with intellectual history than with technology *per se*. This chapter begins with a discussion of some observations concerning technology from an academic point of view ("Background"). Then we will consider how scholars are using information technology in their work ("Computers and Scholarship"). I use the term "scholar" broadly to describe those engaged in the creation and transmission of knowledge, without attempting to distinguish between an emphasis on research or teaching. Next follows a discussion of how language learning methodologies are affected by technological innovation and how new specialties will be required to implement the changed language learning environment ("Medium and Method"). Multimedia language learning and reference materials that have begun to appear in departmental resource centers will be discussed in the context of support for styles of learning ("Resources and Modes of Learning"). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the impact of information technology on faculty in the language field and some strategies for coping ("Managing Change").

Background

The social impact of technology is difficult to predict, chiefly due to what has been called "the law of unintended side effects." The printing press was conceived as a device for reducing the labor of manuscript preparation. With the enthusiasm of his renaissance perspective, Gutenberg foresaw that it would replace the scriptorium (Boorstin 1983, p. 520), but he could hardly have foreseen its impact on education and scholarship in the modern era. Edison, with the optimism of the industrial age, felt that the telephone would revolutionize the way school subjects were taught. We have yet to see telephones in the classroom, and no one in Edison's day foresaw the major use of voice communications devices for home and business. Western Union declined to expand its telegraph business to include voice transmission; American Telephone and Telegraph did, and the rest is history. Likewise, radio and television were initially celebrated as the ultimate media for the democratization of information. After observing the impact of mass media on American elections, we now better understand that the electorate may be manipulated as well as informed, as critics of the information age are quick to point out. Indeed, the network media can have the effect of suppressing discourse, since "thinking does not play well on TV" (Postman 1985, p. 90).

Educators are thus properly suspicious of the electronic information media and their proponents' claims for pedagogical application. Even as scholars are beginning to favor the Internet for scientific information exchange (Stix 1994), there is growing concern about problems in security and quality of information storage (Rothenberg 1995). Defenders of the status quo point out that the printed word has proved successful as a relatively cheap and effective medium for both the analytical techniques of the sciences and the exegetical and creative processes of the arts and humanities. Print also has the educational advantage of providing a channel of access to information that is not readily available without disciplined effort and is thus a medium that lends itself to quality control through peer review and editorial refinement. At an economic level of concern, print has also functioned to empower educators with a kind of "knowledge monopoly" (Postman 1992, p. 10). The teacher's function, as part of a broad social contract for the enculturation of children, has been to provide students with a "literacy" that empowers with both content and method. The same basic approach has produced the majority of scholars at work today. What evidence is there that change is needed?

For one thing, a great deal has happened in the last quarter of a century to put the empowering function of classical literacy (i.e., literacy defined solely by access to print) into question. The knowledge explosion, demographic changes, and economic implications of global trade have combined to reshape thinking about the rationale for language education. The 1980s brought into sharp focus the growing lack of consensus among academics concerning the skills and knowledge considered elemental for our general curriculum.[2] Hardly anyone denies the value of language study for both general and professional education, but there is very little consensus on a curriculum that reflects attainable goals for either purpose.

At the same time, microcomputer technology has introduced a new kind of access to information: the *digital* medium. A scholarly resource stored in analog form (such as a book) requires access to the object itself in order to make use of it. A resource in digital form (such as a text file) offers wider access, as it can be recreated and distributed electronically. Moreover, the labor of reformulating primary data for analysis is considerably lessened by the creation of electronic textual and bibliographic databases, and the time required for locating information is dramatically reduced by means of electronic indexing and search. A relatively inexpensive computer and modem or network connection allow students and scholars to have access to vast amounts of information in varied sense modalities. Texts, images, and sound may be stored as energy states in various magnetic media, easily accessible through networks or CD-ROMs. This means that archiving and access are no longer limited to the domain of print objects. A number of complex issues arise from this fact alone. Copyright law, for example, must be reanalyzed and rationalized (Gasaway and Wiant 1994). More importantly for the language specialist, general education must be reconceptualized. As Tofler (1990) puts it:

> In the case of education, the reconceptualization now required is so profound, reaching so far beyond questions of budgets, class size, teacher pay, and the traditional conflicts over curriculum, that it cannot be dealt with here. Like the Second Wave TV networks (or for that matter all the smokestack industries), our mass education systems are largely obsolete. Exactly as in the case of the media, education will require a proliferation of new channels and a vast expansion of program diversity. A high-choice system will have to replace a low-choice system . . . . The links between education and the six principles of the new media system—interactivity, mobility, convertibility, connectivity, ubiquity, and globalization—have scarcely been explored. (pp. 368–69)

The scholarly community has, in the past five years, begun the exploration called for by Tofler in 1990. There is now widespread recognition that the digital medium offers interactivity with primary data in its various sensory forms such that the scholarly functions of search, cataloguing, and analysis are broadened and accelerated. Opportunities for collaboration that were simply not possible with previous technologies are creating communities of scholars who are more at home intellectually in virtual institutions spanning the globe than they are with their departmental colleagues. The issues are far-reaching and complex, and we find ourselves in the midst of a new "quarrel of the ancients and moderns." The key to an understanding of the debate is not books versus television and computers, however, but analog versus digital media. Richard Lanham (1993), for example, makes this point as he describes the computer a "rhetorical" device. As he puts it:

> The computer's oscillation between reader and writer reintroduces the oscillation between literate and oral coordinates that stands at the center of classical Western literature. (p. 106)

Lanham (1993) goes on to argue that information technology marks "the revival of the classical system of education, the rhetorical paideia, of an applied rather than a pure, an interactive rather than a passive, conception of the liberal arts" (p. 110).[3]

Much of the criticism directed at the media, beginning with McLuhan (1964) and continuing unabated with Postman (1985), is directed at the use of the media for distributing pop culture and entertainment. That these materials often lack educational depth or coherence, in the scholarly sense, is hardly a matter of debate. The point is that material distributed via film, television, radio, or, for that matter, print may function to displace information or experience that is essential for one's educational well-being (McKibben 1992, Postman 1985, p. 141). Naturally the quarrel is not with the media *per se* but with the use made of them. Information itself is not intrinsically educational; it can be harmful when its acquisition is displacive of the constructive processes of critical thinking. Even though there are no inherently educative qualities of digitally-based materials, they do provide new possibilities for an extensive knowledge base. Since the digital medium can integrate image, sound, and text in an intensely interactive fashion, the "user" is not relegated to a passive role. This feature, in particular, causes educators to give serious thought to the educational significance of the new information technology, since scholars can make direct contributions to software designed to

support human learning. The critical issue to address is how to incorporate concern for learning into the functional specifications of the new devices (Norman 1993). As Lanham (1993) puts it,

> Electronic technology is full of promising avenues for language instruction; it will be lunacy if we do not construct a sophisticated comparative-literature pedagogy upon it. (p. 23)

Computers and Scholarship

Foreign language scholarship requires a breadth of knowledge that is informed by multiple points of view, such as the linguist engaged in field work as well as the humanist involved in textual studies. Linguists qua descriptivists have always welcomed information technology that assists in the task and have therefore been quick to use tape recorders, film, and computers in their research. Literary specialists need access to the record of human thought and creativity for their work, as much of their research consists of reinterpreting that record in light of the current human condition. Scholars from both camps have relied on institutions associated with scholarly information exchange, such as libraries, publishers, and professional organizations, to support their need for primary texts and commentary on those texts.

Recently the economics of scholarly publishing in the print medium have begun to cast doubt on continuing the current practices for the acquisition of books and journals. Librarians report that certain kinds of scholarly archiving in digital form appear to offer both cost savings and wider access to users. Libraries have begun to offer electronic access to both their card catalogues and certain segments of their textual holdings. At the same time, scholars have begun to view the computer as an important tool for what they do. Basic functions of the computer, such as word processing, database management, and electronic communication, have evolved in the scholarly community to serve specialized functions, such as online text processing, bibliographic search, and networks for collaboration in research.

The perceived value of the digital medium for scholarly activity in language studies is not limited to quantitative differences, such as increased access to information, greater speed of communication, and lower archiving costs. The use of information technology has introduced qualitative differences that affect some of the creative aspects of scholarship, and here is where the excitement lies. Virtual libraries of information

available on the desk top have altered the scope of time and space in which scholars may work. Researchers collaborating on electronic networks engage more effectively in cross-disciplinary studies. The very notion of "text" has been altered by the introduction of computer-based "hypertexts" and "compound documents" that integrate text, data, sound, and images. As the archives of museum holdings and music libraries become available in digital form, the archaeologist, art historian, and the musicologist are presented with intriguing new possibilities for collaboration, research, and teaching.

Most importantly, advances in user interfaces for high-level programming languages make it feasible for scholars to be intimately involved in the creation of computer-based research tools. (It is, in the final analysis, much easier for language specialists to learn how to use computers than it is for them to teach programmers their subject matter.) Since these research tools may also be used by students, the scholar may bring to the classroom both more authentic sampling of primary data and more immediate experience of the methods of the particular discipline. The medievalist, for example, may introduce students to paleographic techniques using digital facsimiles of original manuscripts that are stored around the world. Specialized databases of textual, bibliographic, and annotative material have appeared in electronic form that are of great interest to the language specialists and their students. The Internet has experienced a phenomenal growth in use since the High Performance Computing Act of 1991 authorized federal funding for a National Research and Education Network. Currently the World-Wide Web, for example, provides a means for individual scholars to utilize network resources for their research and teaching.[4]

While Vice-President of the American Council of Learned Societies, Douglas Greenberg offered the point of view that scholars are generally not daunted by the vast amount of information now at their disposal. On the contrary, the increase in scholarly resources can be viewed as a sign of healthy growth in research (1991).

> The real problem, at least in the humanities, is not excess but access—access to printed information, let alone access to existing databases. Many scholars will tell you that their greatest difficulty is getting access to bibliographies of the journal literature, never mind actually holding a given article in their hands. (p. A28)

Those who hesitate to adopt the new technology cite cost and issues

of standardization as the only barriers to wide-scale adoption of computing for their scholarship. Those less enthusiastic about high technology cite the lack of convincing exemplars of meaningful scholarship that are computer based. Others question what the commercial sector calls "price-performance" issues. Are the quantitative and qualitative increases in productivity worth the cost and bother?

The broad scholarly community will continue to require affordable and effective access to whatever it considers its primary data. The potential of computer-based information technology for meaningful application is hardly in question, but there are many design issues that are yet to be resolved. There appears to be at least some consensus that the following functions need to be integrated for the language scholar's personal computer:

1. Large textual database control devices, including search, concordance, and inferencing
2. Foreign language text and graphics handling, incorporating standards for characters and indexing for world language scripts
3. Network connections to libraries, including bibliographic operations and search technology
4. Tools for collaborative research activity with colleagues and students at remote sites
5. Compound document manipulation, including sound and image capabilities

There are many research tools and interfaces to information in its various forms under development in the public and private sectors. There is a pressing need to integrate them so that their worth may be evaluated in the context of meaningful research and teaching. That is, the work station must support those functions actually essential to the work of humanists and be compatible with the scholar-teacher's normal lifestyle. There are also deep issues of standards that must be addressed at the national and international level. There is no way, a priori, for an engineer to resolve all the design issues. A collaborative effort is needed to incorporate what has been termed a "bottom-up" approach (that is, moving from a problem to its effective solution) with the "top-down" approach of the systems engineer. This will be achieved as language specialists take an active part in informing the design phase. At the same time, the computing industry will benefit from an increased ability to understand the higher education mar-

ket. Rappaport and Halevi (1991) stress the industry's need to focus on the function rather than the form of computers:

> The strategic goal of U.S. companies should not be to build computers. It should be to create persistent value in computing. Increasingly, computers themselves are marginal to the creation of value in computing. Defining how computers are used, not how they are manufactured, will create real value—and thus market power, employment, and wealth—in the decades ahead. (p. 69)

It is important to recognize that it is difficult for departments, currently organized around disciplinary research, to provide resources for the services described above. In the absence of institutional support, many individual scholars have financed the acquisition of computers in much the same way they financed their personal libraries. They have experienced increasing frustration as they see their equipment become quickly obsolete and their computer-based work lose currency because of cross-platform implementation difficulties. It is thus likely that language program directors will see increased pressure from language faculty for "top-down" initiatives that match "bottom-up" enterprise on the part of individual scholars. Budgets and system rewards must evolve to address the need for innovative research.

Summary: Information Technology and Foreign Language Scholarship

- The primary data for foreign language scholarship, in digital form, may be stored for easy access on a computer. It is no longer necessary to segregate visual, acoustic, and textual data according to the capture medium (i.e., film, tape recording, manuscript).

  Recommendation: Introduce graduate students to browsing on the Internet using the World-Wide Web. A report on an author may include textual variations, facsimile of original manuscript, sound files of the author's voice (when available), and appropriate photographs. The sound and image objects may be attached to text edited in a word processor.

- Digital storage permits random access for thematic recombination through "hypermedia" links according to the scholar's point of view (i.e., as anthropologist, sociologist, historian, psycholinguist, or literary critic). The digital workplace is inherently interdisciplinary. It creates a need for, and places a value on, synthesis.

  Recommendation: Ask your library to create a collection of multimedia CD-ROMs that provides access to bibliographies, textual databases, music, and art that are relevant to crosscultural studies. Insure that a workstation (as described above) is available for browsing and familiarization, along with advice on relevant materials to search.

- The digital medium permits electronic collaboration across institutions and disciplines and facilitates integration of the broad semiotic spectrum of language in speech, gesture, and text. The digital workplace offers a virtual community of scholars for collaborative effort and accelerates scholarly information exchange.

  Recommendation: Institute electronic mail office hours to encourage learning how to collaborate with colleagues in other places.

Medium and Method

The forces of change, as discussed in the preceding section, will have a far-reaching impact on the professional formation of language learning specialists. In the long run, the digital medium will bring together or "defragment" foreign language study in its acoustic, visual, and textual forms. Specialists will be needed to oversee the technical and intellectual aspects of this movement, as the teacher-scholar will need assistance in making the transition from a reliance on the print medium alone for pedagogical and research needs. Many educators begin their involvement with information technology through a desire for personal empowerment. We might expect that these users of technology would be effective innovators in language teaching methodology, since implementation in the classroom should depend only on institutional or societal support. That this is not necessarily the case involves a closer look at the dynamics of institutional change.

Educators interested in software development are not always accustomed to the idea of teamwork; they have been socialized to think "vertically," that is, to work within their own disciplines. But, as mentioned above, the new medium is inherently interdisciplinary, requiring innovative thinking for applications that are both theory-driven and relevant for real-world problems. On a more practical level, the use of information technology for language learning and research can require a fresh look at how to manage local institutional politics. The individual scholar interested in creating a modern language resource center, for example, may be faced with rallying faculty expertise, administrative recognition, and com-

puter support services behind the project. For the enterprise to be successful, it is important that worthwhile educational problems are addressed, that a reward system is in place for the innovator, and that sufficient funding and technological expertise are available for implementation and assessment. Language program directors who wish to assume a leadership role may find that their primary function will be to catalyze the various elements of significant language study as the electronically enriched language learning environment is designed. Academics need to understand how technology is actually used for specific disciplinary purposes at home, in the office, or in the classroom. Issues of centralized and distributed services must be worked out for the various modes important to the language scholar's lifestyle, including research, administrative duties, and classroom presentation. Institutional support will be required for communication via email, library bibliographical services, laboratory, and classroom display. It is useful to draw attention to the fact that proper design of network services for students make it possible to contain some of the costs of labor-intensive language instruction by increasing the effectiveness of the independent study environment.

Some of the elements driving innovation lie outside the direct control of the academy. It is nonetheless important to understand the strategic significance of the commercial sector, in particular the publishing and computing industries. Educational publishers have begun to broaden the textbook business to include interactive multimedia materials, distributed on CD-ROM. Although this activity is in its early stages, it is evident that publishers will bring their editorial expertise to the task of creating materials that are commercially viable, that is, appropriate for broad distribution. This means that they will assist in solving cross-platform difficulties as new devices and operating system protocols come into the marketplace. Authors of interactive materials may find that the commercial sector is willing to underwrite certain kinds of software development. As with printed textbooks, however, the costs of development and production are likely to make the selection process for authoring quite competitive.

The "shareware" concept, although attractive philosophically to the not-for-profit sector, generally does not produce high-quality applications that can be used in broad educational reform. Individual faculty members, as software developers, have had little incentive to go beyond proof of concept, much less to write error traps and produce full documentation or support services. Field testing, debugging, and other steps necessary for commercial-grade applications are simply not feasible for most scholars.

They will prefer to purchase effective materials (as they have always done with textbooks) and to emphasize the use of computing tools for learning and research, in and out of the classroom. Some of the resistance to devoting energy to computer-based instruction can be traced to the general devaluing of the production of pedagogical material in higher education. But the debate in academia between applied and theoretical scholarship is much older than the microcomputer. Attitudes are not likely to change significantly until convincing exemplars of meaningful innovation are available.

Just as the scholarly community will need involvement from the commercial sector for the creation of certain kinds of educational materials, educational publishers will need the participation of scholars to assist in materials design. If higher education is not involved in this important enterprise, the creation of materials for general education is likely to pass to the mass media specialists with backgrounds in gaming, advertising, and entertainment. The computing industry, for its part, will need input on lifestyle and content issues at this critical juncture in the development of educational computing. Multimedia laptop computers, for example, can easily be configured to accommodate the research and instructional requirements of language specialists. Cross-platform, standards-based instructional technology offers a great deal of promise for the educator, if for no other reason than it has capabilities that offer publishers and authors a better chance for wide adoption. An "ecological" approach to the problem (Graves 1993) will require the language specialist to participate in institutional strategic planning.

A discussion of the market demand for learning materials would take us well beyond the purpose of this chapter. Suffice it to say that the publisher's business case must take into account who will purchase language learning material (teachers, libraries, students) and in what medium (print, film, CD-ROM, network server, etc.). But the responsibility for determining the shape of the solution will likely be shared by the educational establishment, the information technology industry, and the publishing industry. A cooperative effort is needed to produce a meaningful combination of content, platform, and quality control. New authoring techniques must be found for electronic publishing, and the educational establishment must rethink teacher training. The new media are already important factors in general education and are already widely used for commercial training purposes. Humanists have always been careful to point that "training" is a necessary but not sufficient condition for "educa-

tion." This distinction is vital not only for the design and implementation of educational material but also for the formation of teachers in an information era.

What role will academics play in assessing the impact of new educational materials? It may be argued (Noblitt 1993) that the future learning specialist must bring an understanding of the *educational uses of the media* to the learning environment. The information age will require an education system that understands human learning and makes efficient use of the entire spectrum of information technology. Teachers will have to understand the media and guide their students in their meaning and use. Summarized here, in broad strokes, are the media and methodologies that language learning specialists will need to administer in a coherent fashion.

The oral medium, as a low-tech but labor-intensive technology, has spawned a number of approaches that are known under the general rubric of "direct methods." A favorite approach for the classroom, it requires students to be within sight and hearing of the teacher. The physical presence of the instructor permits the novice to observe a role model and identify a human resource for individual educational needs. Direct methods tend to be holistic in nature, involving students with the primary material of a particular subject matter. The instructor often exemplifies the ideals of the instructional outcomes. The implied social contract is that instruction will be of lasting value to the learner, and that the instructor takes some direct responsibility for the educational well-being of the individual student. The impersonal nature of image media, print, and computing makes it unlikely that they will satisfy the normal desire of the student to understand the value of knowledge in personal terms. The classroom—or some gathering place where socialization can be combined with the learning experience—is likely to provide the best environment for testing the value of learning on a personal basis. Students will increasingly want to know, "What is worth learning?" The answer has to come from someone they trust, someone who will give a responsible answer. In time, of course, they must learn to provide this answer themselves.

The print medium, by making dictionaries, concordances, and other analytical tools available for textual exegesis, provided the basis for "grammar-translation" methods. The medium is valued for its power to provide access to powerful exemplars of human thought and syntheses of knowledge. However, textbooks will no longer be valued for merely mapping the curriculum and providing consumable exercises and drills. These functions

are done much more efficiently in interactive media. The successful text will provide more of a synthesis of the value of language learning and a coherent view of the culture being studied. It must provide an answer to the question, "What is worth keeping?" The individually owned textbook and the vast information resources of the library provide an extension of the learning environment beyond the oral classroom. Teaching methods based on print technology tend to exploit reductionist techniques for analyzing a given subject matter, and the very process of writing provides support for detailed hypothetico-deductive examination. The implied value of text-based methods for the learner is the development of critical thinking, in particular the ability to resolve conflicting interpretations arising from the expanded sources of primary data.

The audio-visual medium, introduced by modern recording technology, provided new methods for sampling the primary data of a foreign culture. The tape recorder, for example, reintroduced spoken language into the classroom and popularized the methods of anthropological linguists. Many of the current generation of language teachers were trained in what came to be called the "audio-lingual" method. Its major impact in academia was felt in lower-division courses, but the methodology is used at all levels in the federal language teaching program. The invention of photography, in particular, made the image medium inexpensive and widespread; it forms the basis for "audio-visual" approaches to language teaching. Language teachers find the approach particularly useful where grammar-translation is inappropriate and visualization is important. The educational use of sound recording and visual imagery should answer the student's question, "What is this all about?" Audio-visual methods are essentially holistic in nature. They have been employed successfully for overcoming language and literacy problems in learning and are particularly effective for distance education.

The digital medium is really quite innovative, in that it can provide educational material in all of the media mentioned above and provide a context that is "interactive." The learner can take greater responsibility for driving the educational process and learn to use language tools, such as word processors, dictionaries, and the like, which will serve for continuing education in the real world. The digital medium helps provide an answer to the question, "What can I do with what I know?" The interactive methodology engages students actively in learning and helps instructors to introduce students to primary language. Instructors can function as guides

to sources of knowledge, helping students navigate a new educational domain, the information network. Interactive methods combine holistic and analytic techniques to help build in safeguards against the uses of informational media for propaganda or commercial exploitation of the learner. Students can be led to understand the underlying epistemology of the various media, but this objective can only be achieved by creating an understanding of how scholars use their tools to create knowledge from raw data, in whatever medium.

Summary: Information Technology and Language Learning

- With the primary data of foreign language scholarship in digital form, the language learner will have increased exposure to authentic samples of the target language and its culture. Language is contextualized rather than disembodied.

  Recommendation: Initiate a project to collect samples of authentic language from sources like SCOLA, which provides selections from various foreign language television broadcasts. Students may use a hand-held camcorder to interview speakers of the language under study. Seek assistance from departments with the needed expertise, such as film arts or communications studies. Integrate the materials into the existing syllabus used by teaching assistants in the classroom.

- Student access to interactive authentic material and study aids will strengthen the face validity of language study. A variety of learning styles are supported by integrating oral, print, and image media. The language learning specialist will profit by incorporating interdisciplinary insights in designing the foreign language curriculum.

  Recommendation: Evaluate the impact of student exposure to authentic material on cultural understanding and attitudes as well as speaking and listening comprehension. Seek assistance from specialists in second language acquisition or educational psychology in design and implementation of test instruments.

- The digital medium permits electronic collaboration for cooperative learning. Learning may be task-based rather than syllabus-based.

  Recommendation: Assign tasks that involve analysis of primary language data to groups of students who must work together to solve a problem. Tasks may be as simple as transcription of songs or stories or

as complex as interpreting motivation in interpersonal communication or writing a grammar from a corpus. The mentor assists by training students in the analytical tools of the profession.

Resources and Modes of Learning

Computer-aided learning, like book-aided learning, is a technology that is directed toward facilitating an educational process that empowers the learner. As argued earlier, the roles of books and computers in the educational process are likely to be complementary. Literacy did not replace orality, nor did visual media replace print. Computing, likewise, is more likely to transform than replace what has gone before. Our attention, therefore, is better focused on content and outcomes rather than the medium of delivery. The current concern with our educational syste.n is that it provides neither a broad understanding of the world we live in nor meaningful skills to make a living. The interest in computing comes from its promise for enriching both education and training.

Multimedia instructional materials may blur an easy distinction between education and entertainment, but the "blurring" has always been there. All of us have seen dramatic representations that educate, and we've all been to lectures that entertain. But that doesn't mean that they are the same thing. Entertainment aims at winning audience approval and is frequently driven by a for-profit motive. The educational establishment, on the other hand, is basically a not-for-profit enterprise and is accustomed to a focus on long-term achievement. It is driven by a sense of responsibility for the student and for society. Educational materials should be "engaging," evoking interest and effort on the part of the learner. This having been said, the worth of multimedia materials will be judged in much the same way as traditional educational materials. That is, the materials are only an element in the instructional environment, not the environment itself.

It must be noted, however, that the new technology is giving wider access to information to larger numbers of students. This fact alone means that traditional roles must be rethought: Teachers will be more important than ever in the process of helping students make knowledge from a surfeit of information; scholars will be called upon to assist students to use the new technological environment to explore primary sources of information; institutions that wish to survive as a force in general education must remove the tension between teaching and research. We are seeing increased

anxiety on the part of our students as they try to sort out what is important and what is not in the information that surrounds them through the mass media. Lanham (1993) states the issue in stark terms:

> Technology increases the available supply of information. As the supply is increased, control mechanisms are strained. Additional control mechanisms are needed to cope with the new information. . . . When the supply of information is no longer controllable a general breakdown in psychic tranquillity and social purpose occurs. Without defenses, people have no way of finding meaning in their experiences, lose their capacity to remember, and have difficulty imagining reasonable futures. (p. 75)

A fear often voiced is that multimedia instructional materials could easily import to the classroom techniques of the commercial media that substitute entertainment for critical thinking. The journalist Ellen Goodman (*Boston Globe*, January 2, 1992) states the concern of many humanists as she reviews a film "docudrama" and questions its accuracy:

> Those of us who are print people—writers and readers—are losing ground to the visual people—producers and viewers. The younger generation gets its information and infotainment from television and movies. Less information. More infotainment. The franchise over reality is passing hands.

It is important to recognize the distinction made earlier between mass media and interactive digital media. It is not necessary, as Goodman has done, to divide the world between readers and viewers. The word "multimedia" may conjure images from the entertainment world, especially for those who have not had the opportunity to experience the impact of well-designed interactive materials, but the term is being used simply to designate programs that combine elements of print, sound, graphics and still or full-motion images on a personal computer. (Some prefer the term "compound document.") Since the technology was developed in the commercial sector, some educators fear that authors will import uncritically the techniques used for advertising and entertainment into the educational arena. The problem of hidden epistemology is present in all media, however. The educational challenge is to make sure the student understands the medium, much as one does for literary analysis or an exercise in critical thinking. Language teachers are generally pleased to see the spectrum of educational tools broadened to include interactive visual and acoustic elements that are integrated with text. Students enjoy the immediacy of access to authentic material. Compound documents are extremely rich in educative potential, and elements of composition and graphic design are being reanalyzed for instructional purposes.

Compound documents can function exactly like linear modes of presentation, that is, like illustrated books, or slide shows, or films. Where appropriate, as in narrative situations, the student experiences what is called "reception" learning. The computer-based learning environment is not limited to reception learning, however. The computer makes it possible for the learner to make choices that determine both the kind of material presented and the rate of information flow. Hypertext or hypermedia documents open up the ability to follow relationships among ideas. The timely access to relevant information is intellectually arousing for the student and assists in "discovery" learning. The interactive format makes it possible for the presentation of information to occur under natural conditions of inquiry, that is, when the learner has framed a question and is receptive to the answer.

There is no doubt that modern information technology can be applied in educationally interesting ways to the study of foreign languages. Learners can contextualize linguistic information by seeing and hearing speakers of other languages. Reference materials are available for grammatical and lexical analysis. Commentary on gesture and cultural differences make the foreign language a dynamic medium for understanding human communication. Even so, two questions are frequently asked about the new media. (1) "With increased reliance on image rather than text, will students have adequate reading skills?" As noted earlier, literacy remains a primary goal of education, but it's not the only goal. The current interest in interactive materials comes from their promise in general education coupled with effective training in using the tools of an information society. As long as there are measurable gains in understanding, it is no longer important to define literacy in terms of reading skill only. (2) "But don't computers create crippling dependencies that make the learner ineffective without them?" The same argument could apply to textbooks and teachers. The important thing in education is to distinguish between what the student must internalize and what may be safely relegated to storage in information technology. Neither the novice nor the experienced writer is disabled by having to look up a word in the dictionary, in either electronic or print form.

Educators are observing that multimedia materials have considerable

power to *engage* students in learning. Instructors are pleased to see the primary material of their subject matter available to the student for observation and interaction. The digital learning environment goes well beyond the notion of "entertainment," as mentioned earlier, and assists the scholar in demonstrating "engagement" in learning. The new technology is thus capable of freeing the instructor from rote drill to concentrate on the creative aspects of teaching. Many foreign language departments have made a transition from the familiar "language lab" to a digitally based "language resource center." The change is motivated in part by a desire to retain departmental control over special equipment and databases and in part to raise the quality of support services for language learning and research.

The use of the media for educational purposes has historically served to broaden access to knowledge. As has been said, the digital medium will not replace the oral, print, or image media. It will simply transform the way in which they are used for educational purposes. The language resource center must be designed around an appreciation of this fact. An understanding of the new medium can be achieved by observing carefully how teaching methods are being altered to improve learning. It may be helpful, therefore, to focus briefly on some basic learning processes and attempt to evaluate how information technology can contribute to their enhancement.[5]

The sequential learning mode may be applied to moments of instruction in which it is important to maintain the integrity of the object of study: a piece of music, a narrative, or, for that matter, a piece of art. Most subject matters require moments of guided study of primary observed data or original material. Students benefit from instructional sequences based on the mentor's knowledge of learning development. Courseware, in this learning mode, provides access to instructional sources and coherent sequences. Computer-based learning can be used to enhance the sequential mode by varying the instructional design according to individual learning styles and by offering semi-linear variations on instruction with options for learner control. The computer can also collect information on the learning process and offer data for course improvement, student guidance, and empirical research.

The relational learning mode applies to learning that takes place when information is actively sought and brought forward through hypertext or hypermedia links. Meaningful learning requires that information be contextualized and that the student discover relationships with other areas of knowledge. Computer-based reference materials provide the learner with

access to related information. The nonlinear storage of information permits rich possibilities for exploration and provides support for learning that is driven by student query. Hypermedia links provide unlimited possibilities for multisensory support for different learning styles.

The creative learning mode refers to a variety of activities that may be invoked for learning by doing. Although reception and discovery learning are highly valued, students must be able to utilize what they have learned if they are to retain it. Computer-based learning offers tools that provide for integrating ideas, creating new knowledge, and aiding in self expression. Tools may be combined with the sequential and relational instructional materials to create learning environments, such as writing labs and simulations for exploring cultural differences. The student need not be mystified by gaps between theory and application.

The modern language resource center provides for all of these learning modes. Some language learning materials are specialized: Videotapes are sequential, dictionaries are relational, and word processors are creative. But, as has been seen, in the interactive digital environment it is possible to combine sequential and relational materials so that detailed commentary is provided for art, music, or narrative. One may combine relational and creative materials so that dictionary and reference grammar material is available interactively for use with word processors. When the three modes are combined, it is possible to provide a learning environment that creates a micro-world for immersion learning.

Summary: Information Technology and Foreign Language Learning Resources

- Resource centers will serve as a point of contact for addressing the entire spectrum of need from undergraduate instruction to graduate student and faculty research. Resource centers will provide access to primary data and the tools for performing operations on the data.

  Recommendation: Initiate a comparison of your departmental resources with other resource centers at peer institutions, noting the availability of computers, network access, electronic mail, scanning devices, and reference material. Create an initiative to provide a learning environment that supports access to authentic material for presentation as well as interactive practice.

- Problems in distributed versus centralized services will require new approaches to budgeting. Cooperative arrangements with libraries and computing support services will be essential.

Recommendation: Ensure that your department has representation with regard to institutional strategic planning for information technology. Be prepared to show how the quality of instruction can be increased while costs are contained.

- The expansion of resources for the study of foreign languages brought by the digital media has implications for scholarly methodology as well as teaching techniques. Graduate students and teachers in training will need guidance in addressing the underlying epistemological issues as well as technical details.

  Recommendation: Support a departmental or institutional re-examination of methods courses and seminars designed for future scholars. Develop policies to insure that professional concerns are reflected in the implementation of information technology in your institution.

Managing Change

Language program directors, even when convinced of the need for change, are likely to find themselves called upon to justify any new expenditure for technology. The debate over economics can easily mask a more fundamental issue, the psychology of change. Change diverts energy from normal standards of productivity into new activities with uncertain outcomes. Quite apart from its value as an information processor, the microcomputer is a symbol of a new way of life. It represents the "disconnect" many educators feel between their background and training and the current needs of society. We must recognize (if only to be able to put the issue aside) that the digital medium redefines the conditions of psychological and economic well-being for our students and therefore the dynamics of teaching and learning.

Change is welcomed by winners, resisted by losers, regardless of the social benefits. If educators view information technology as simply a way of reducing the amount of money spent on faculty salaries, it is unrealistic to expect them to participate in a plan to implement computing in the classroom! On the other hand, a plan to raise the quality of instruction while holding down costs can produce interest and support. Interest can be transformed to motivation when individuals adopt technology for personal empowerment, that is, when they need support for their own teaching and research activities and can see that it serves that purpose. The key event in this process is the convincing exemplar of effective educational hardware or software.

It is important to understand and appreciate the mentality of those who have no experience through which to comprehend the power of educational computing. Consider the person with no knowledge of book technology who observes a reader deeply absorbed in a novel. Imagine that the reader is amused and laughs aloud. How is the observer to understand the emotional state of the reader who appears removed from any apparent cause of amusement? Without some experience of the unknown medium, the behavior appears simply bizarre, and the observer has no way to relate to the reader's involvement. Likewise those who have not experienced the dynamics of the digital medium, with its interactive access to domains of information beyond the here and now, have difficulty understanding what all the fuss is about.

Studies of the process of infusion of high technology into the workplace show that much of the variation observed depends on the personalities of those who are considering adoption. Foreign language educators I have observed appear to go through stages of adaptation (and resistance) that are conditioned by previous experience with technology. The following characterizations may be familiar.

Some grant that technology is ingenious, but that its potential has simply not been realized for scholarly purposes. This may be called the *so what?* syndrome. Their understanding of information technology is limited to the engineering accomplishments in information processing. Although they are intrigued by the fact that the works of Shakespeare may be stored on a CD-ROM disc, that fact in itself does not justify the expense and bother of adopting technological paraphernalia. Actually, the "so what?" people are easy to convince once you locate and demonstrate exemplary software that has appeal in their discipline or field of interest. Because of their interest in creating knowledge from information, scholars are particularly interested in tools of the trade that increase productivity, such as word processing, e-mail, bibliographic databases, and the like. Exemplars that illustrate the broad spectrum of learning—the creation, transmission, and archiving of knowledge—create confidence in the value of academic computing. It is important for the skeptic to understand and appreciate the educational *benefits* of technology before being exposed to all the details of its *features*.

A more difficult case is the academic who has seen and appreciated the benefits of academic computing but who has reservations about implementation. We may call this the *yes, but. . .* syndrome. The broad application of information technology to instructional problems is seen as not

feasible under local conditions, since funding, expertise, and system rewards are felt to be unattainable. It is helpful for such a person to be in contact with professional colleagues who can provide meaningful support for innovative thinking. The innovator may find it necessary to promote meetings to bring together faculty, administrators, and computer services to discuss problems in implementation. The idea is to insure that educational innovations are not divorced from strategic planning and technical support. It is important to coordinate top-down efforts in system design with bottom-up efforts at problem solving.

Some view information technology as a contributing factor to social problems. In its strongest form, resistance takes the form of viewing computers as the *work of the devil.* The benefits of information technology are seen as being outweighed by the undesirable side effects: diversion of resources from worthwhile educational institutions, such as libraries; erosion of humanistic values, such as critical thinking; replacement of mentoring faculty with impersonal information-dispensing machines. The value system underlying meaningful education is viewed as threatened by the new technology. It is unfortunately often the case that disaffected scholars have little sense of control over the digital medium and fear that their own contributions will not be represented in educational software. The solution is to provide hands-on training for faculty in a context that is designed to address legitimate scholarly concerns and educational issues. Scholars convinced of the worth of computing can, with modern "iterative authoring" tools, learn the skill set in a reasonable amount of time. It is important to realize that programmers, even with superior skills, may have no insights into issues of content and produce inappropriate educational exemplars. But contact between technologists and subject matter specialists can provide a productive and ongoing professional relationship for developing meaningful educational software.

Some faculty members express concern that the digital medium is antithetical to the value system that underlies print-based scholarship. Their objection represents a form of the *publish or perish* syndrome. Technology—by promoting an explosive growth of connectivity with worldwide information sources of text, image, and sound—is seen as introducing serious problems of quality control. Scholars are socialized to believe in the value of their various disciplines as guardians of the reliability of published research. The print medium, with peer review, bibliographic accuracy, and editorial refinement, is the major instrument of quality assurance. This inhibitor to innovation will be dispelled only when

exemplars of quality publications in the new digital medium are more broadly available.

The typology of those who resist adoption of technology may be compared with that proposed in Rogers (1983). Whereas Rogers assumed static types of resistance, such as "early adopters," "late adopters," and "laggards," the "so what?" and "yes, but. . ." characterizations discussed abóve are open to demonstration and negotiation; they are quite capable of changing their minds. The "work of the devil" and "publish or perish" people are not simply slow to adopt technology; they actively oppose it. It is important to recognize that the inhibitors are based on rational grounds that require broad societal reform to dispel.

The basic function of "literacy" is being redefined for educational purposes, in much the same way the function of "rhetoric" had to be redefined after the widespread availability of the codex book. The virtues of being well read have been celebrated long enough to need no defense here. But there is also pressing need in the modern curriculum for an understanding of both oral and literate culture (Ong 1982). The educated person needs a conceptual basis for interpreting the constant stream of images that are everywhere in an information age (Friedhoff and Benzon 1991). It is not only that students need to read more; they must learn to divide their attention in a much broader "bandwidth" of information. Publishing houses, as demand for the traditional school textbook has declined sharply, are already deeply involved in analyzing the educational meaning of the new information technologies.

It is timely, therefore, for language teaching professionals to ask what role information technology will play in creating learning environments for our students. Our current system of instruction is based upon some assumptions that are rarely met, namely that we may devise a curriculum of instruction lasting four years with intelligent articulation between "freshman" and "senior" language classes. (Never mind that most of our students drop out of foreign language study after only two years.) We have further adopted a professional ideal of instruction for "proficiency" rather than "achievement," and this in a society that provides little opportunity for the majority to experience actual language use for communicative purposes. It is for these reasons that we may ask whether our language programs are set up to meet our goals, a problem that may be called "the governance question" (Noblitt 1988a).

If curriculum addresses what to do, governance addresses how to go about it, including considerations of budget, administration, and method.

I have argued elsewhere (Noblitt 1989) that the initial impact of technology on language learning is to change methodology before content. That is, when the print medium became available for language learning, oral or direct methods were enhanced by methods that incorporated textbooks and reference materials that eventually became the basis of grammar-translation methods. When sound recordings became available, it was possible to introduce renewed emphasis on sampling the spoken word, through a kind of "secondary orality," which became the basis for an audio-lingual method. Finally, the techniques of film and television were incorporated to provide an audio-visual approach (Noblitt 1988b). Since all these methods can be shown to work to some measurable degree, it is not surprising that most instructors freely adopt techniques that are useful in their teaching environment. Major determinants of method in the current "eclectic" approach have been the background and training of the instructor combined with the amount of time that the educational system provides for the learning task. New technologies have not been as deeply transformative of foreign language instruction as the educational systems devised to deliver that instruction. Given the limited classroom contact hours of our semester system, excellence is achieved only as a result of the labor-intensive activities of student and instructor. Time on task remains a powerful predictor of outcomes.

What changes for language instruction are likely to accompany the new digital technologies? After scarcely a decade of experimentation, it is already clear that the technology will change much faster than our educational institutions. Computers will be more powerful and less expensive, and it is likely that similar requirements will be made for professional language educators. That is, our society will not be able to train and employ enough language experts to provide the labor-intensive methods that have characterized analog language teaching methodologies. Instead, we will train a smaller core of experts to facilitate language learning in an environment where students have ready access to a broad range of authentic foreign language materials.

We can, through the use of information technology, provide virtual learning environments that are learner-focused (rather than teacher-focused) in both general and professional education. Distributed learning techniques show promise of more effective time on task and better access to samples of language use. It is possible for the motivated student to engage in productive language learning through interactive exercises both in and out of the classroom. With better support in the learning environment, it will be possible to shift the classroom focus from drill to an emphasis on the expressive and communicative uses of language. The instructor's role in the new learning environment will thus be to provide expert guidance, facilitation, and mentoring. As more scholars become creative in the digital medium, we may also foresee that curricular content will begin to be affected as well. Introductory courses, for example, will expose students to a much broader sampling of language and culture than is currently the practice. The role of the new humanist will be, as in the past, to provide the models of creativity that define change.[6]

Notes

1. The reader interested in keeping up to date will find it useful to consult surveys of language applications and issues in professional journals at regular intervals, such as (at this moment) Armstrong and Yetter-Vassot 1994 or Patrikis 1995. Bulletin boards on the Internet, such as Dartmouth's LLTI (Language Learning and Technology International Information Forum), give timely information and insight into the ongoing process of change.
2. See Bennett 1984, Hirsch 1988, Bloom 1987 for a sampling of approaches.
3. See also Bolter 1991, Landow 1992, for a sampling of current approaches from a scholarly point of view.
4. Morgan 1994 provides a developmental summary of the scholarly uses of search utilities for the Internet.
5. See Noblitt 1993 for the original treatment of this topic. I am indebted to McClintock 1993 for his discussion.
6. For further discussion, see Garrett, N., J. Noblitt, and F. Dominguez 1989, Noblitt 1990.

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The Foreign Language Problem: The Governance of Foreign Language Teaching and Learning

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What Is the Problem?

Where to begin? That there is a "foreign language problem" is indisputable: commissions talk about it (MLA Commission 1986), deans talk about it (Redfield 1988), chairs talk about it (James 1994), tenured faculty talk about it (Shumway 1988), language coordinators talk about it (Dvorak 1986; Harris-Schenz 1993; Lee and VanPatten 1991, *inter alios*), and adjunct faculty talk about it (though not in publications). Just what *it* is, however, is unclear, indicating perhaps that the foreign language problem is like pornography—we may not be able to define it, but we know it when we see it. The difficulty in defining the problem might well suggest that it is not *one* problem, but rather a constellation of both related and unrelated problems.

While it is current common practice to speak of the field of foreign languages or the *system* of foreign language instruction in the United States (Lambert 1984), to do so assembles under one capacious rubric many different enterprises, enterprises that are divided by language, by goals, by theories, by methodologies, by institutions, by teachers, and by students. Whether there is in fact a field of foreign languages is open to discussion. The complementarity principle of physics—that a phenomenon can be satisfactorily and correctly accounted for by competing and mutually exclusive explanations—might serve us well in examining the field of foreign languages. It might be expedient, especially in political and administrative contexts, to consider everything together as a single field, but it is also useful to concede the value of seeing all the parts. The integrity of the

field of foreign languages can perhaps be justified by foreign language acquisition theory, but it is open to debate whether all foreign languages are acquired in the same way (Ellis 1986, pp. 285–86; Ellis 1990, p. 18, footnote 7, and chap. 3) and whether there is yet a satisfactory theory of foreign language acquisition. The field of second language acquisition research is not yet three decades old, and like any other academic discipline, it is characterized by disagreement. The differences of opinion, of approach, and of theory demarcate different models of mediation for understanding foreign language teaching and learning (Kramsch 1994). They also, we should note, mark different political and intellectual boundaries as the proponents of the various embattled models seek to establish disciplinary control of the field of foreign languages.

Difference is also starkly demonstrated by the fact that there is not, and probably cannot be, a single massive professional association or even two large associations that represent the foreign language profession in the manner of the American Philosophical Association or the American Historical Association. There are separate associations for separate languages (e.g., the Chinese Language Teachers Association, the American Association of Teachers of German). At times there is more than one association for a single language; there is an American Council of Teachers of Russian and the Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages. We have the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and various regional councils, the Modern Language Association, the various regional modern language associations, the Center for Applied Linguistics, the various National Foreign Language Resource Centers supported by federal funds, a National Foreign Center, and finally the Center for International Education in the U.S. Department of Education. None of these organizations is authorized to speak for the field at large, and consequently, there is no unified voice to speak for the profession. That there is no unified voice is often perceived as a singular fault of the profession, whereas it is simply an accurate reflection of differences. A colleague once noted, "All we people in foreign languages have in common is that we do not teach English," and we might note that our Australian colleagues refer routinely to LOTE, Languages Other Than English. Perhaps we have to have it both ways to govern ourselves. Perhaps the foreign language teacher needs to justify his or her existence both as a teacher of a specific language and as representative of the field of foreign languages in general.

In a similar vein, there is no monolithic identity for the foreign language teacher, and it is necessary to make several distinctions. At two-year or community colleges the foreign language teacher might well be a part-time instructor or a Jack or Jill of many trades (foreign languages, humanities courses, literature in translation, etc.). In general in the four-year liberal arts colleges the foreign language teacher is almost invariably by training a scholar of literature whose responsibilities include language teaching as well as a range of literature and civilization courses; there is a trend in some four-year colleges, however, to hire adjunct faculty for large-enrollment languages like Spanish and for small-enrollment languages like Arabic or Hindi. Foreign language specialists are rare in this context. In the private universities the foreign language teacher is distinguished by the kind of language he or she teaches. The so-called commonly taught languages like French or Spanish are for the most part staffed by graduate teaching assistants, who are usually doctoral candidates in literary studies. Indeed, it is commonly assumed in many departments that the positions of graduate teaching assistants exist as an entitlement, a subvention for graduate research. Graduate students are socialized early on to acknowledge the value of research and to rank language teaching low in the *gradum ad Parnassum*. While serving as a teaching assistant is an integrated part of the financial package offered to graduate students, there are programs where the training of graduate students is not conceived as a serious and integrated part of the doctoral program. The so-called less commonly taught languages like Bengali or Russian are taught primarily by native speakers, who hold some title like lecturer and are non-ladder faculty. In the large public research universities there are often sufficient numbers of graduate students to assist in performing this function; when there are not sufficient numbers of teaching assistants, then adjunct lecturers on term appointments fill the slots. Yet another group of languages, the still less commonly taught languages (e.g., Quechua, Sinhalese, Thai), have low and irregular enrollments and are taught either by ladder faculty or a lecturer. Foreign language faculty hold an odd range of ranks and titles, ranging from the standard ladder of assistant, associate, and full professor to the adjunct corps of lecturer, lector, or preceptor, each of those last three elegant, but meaningless, titles qualified or not by the adjective senior. Some of the adjunct ranks enjoy *de jure* tenure, others *de facto* tenure; some are renewable upon review every five years, others are renewable depending upon enrollments, and still others appear to be automatically renewable with little or no accountability and with little or no reason for renewal, other than the need for a body at the head of the classroom.

Ironically, titles of the adjunct corps proliferate but do not make distinctions between responsibilities or credentials or rights.

The commonly taught and less commonly taught languages traditionally enjoy different connections and alliances in our universities. French or German or Spanish programs, for example, historically fit into the humanities. Consequently, such programs have typically sought to develop and to emphasize the skills of high literacy for the study of texts; they have tended not to have personnel trained to develop courses outside the fields of literature and culture; and they have not benefitted from significant external government funding, federal programs that as a matter of policy have seen the disciplines of the humanities as having little relevance to international and area studies. Indeed, it is only in recent years with the establishment of programs of foreign languages across the curriculum and the concomitant branching out into other disciplines and into applied professional programs that foreign language programs have been able to attract more external funding.

The marriage of convenience between the less commonly taught languages and various funding sources like the federal government (e.g., Title VI support for international studies) and many philanthropic organizations like the Ford Foundation has in all probability guaranteed the survival of instruction in languages like Tagalog and Hindi, as it has been vital in the maintenance of Arabic, Chinese, and Russian. The low enrollments in the less commonly taught languages—the great exception is, of course, Japanese, in which enrollments have skyrocketed over the last fifteen years—have been compensated for by external funding and by the necessary link to area studies programs.

We have at least two distinct cultures in foreign language education: the one dependent on external funding, serving primarily graduate students, and allied largely to the needs of the social sciences, and the other dependent on internal support, serving primarily undergraduates, and allied largely to the teaching of the humanities.

But the foreign language problem does not result exclusively or principally from the heterogeneous factors that characterize the enterprises of foreign language instruction in this nation's colleges and universities. In this essay I shall attempt to examine and to situate the problem not in areas of methodological or theoretical debate but squarely in the administrative arena of *governance*. To offer a provisional definition at the outset, governance is the way we are set up to conduct our business; it can be construed both as the process and the product of how foreign language education is organized. The term *governance* is common in administrative parlance and will be examined later in this essay. It allows us to look in a new way at the role of the foreign language teacher. To examine how we are organized to go about our business moves us away from the customary debates about theory (how a foreign language is acquired), about goals (why the language is taught), about methodology (how a language is best taught), and about curriculum (what is taught) to the territory where administrative issues and scholarly questions meet. That intersection is the teacher. While the role and place of the teacher in a foreign language program are strongly shaped by decisions about and views of theory, goals, methodology, and curriculum, they are also defined by a host of political factors. Indeed, decisions about and views of theory, goals, methodology, and curriculum are themselves political and impinge on the broader administrative aspects of a foreign language program.

The foreign language problem is complex. According to some administrators, it is an economic factor that separates foreign language education from much other instruction in a college or university. While modern European history or microbiology or the introduction to theoretical linguistics can be taught in lectures to indeterminately large audiences, foreign language courses demand small sections (five, ten, or even thirty students in a class, but never fifty or two hundred) and, therefore, they require an unusually large corps of teachers. Some institutions, for example, have difficulty in hiring properly qualified teachers to cover the ever increasing number of students electing Spanish language courses, capping enrollments, or dramatically altering placement procedures. Let us recognize that however many sections are required for courses, foreign language instruction is a veritable bargain for private institutions. A private university with, let us say, three hundred students enrolled in first-year Spanish is receiving approximately $1,200,000 in prorated tuition for that course (full tuition averaging $16,000). With fifteen sections of twenty students, each section is bringing in some $80,000, considerably more than the real costs of hiring an instructor, paying benefits, and overhead on the classroom and office space; even with thirty sections of only ten students each section is bringing in some $40,000. The income from the large-enrollment languages appears sufficient to cover the high costs of low-enrollment languages. A public institution with tuition and fees that range from one fifth to one tenth those of private institutions secures a smaller dividend on language courses. But in many institutions, foreign language instruction is not only a bargain; it is also subsidizing other costs in the university.

Faced with small enrollments and multiple sections and largely ignoring the economic realities of language instruction, many universities have decided to have the majority of foreign language courses taught by untenured, non-research-track faculty (Patrikis 1988b, p. 3). The demography of foreign language instruction—the overwhelming proportion of adjunct, non-ladder faculty in research universities and the large numbers of teaching assistants—creates a lopsided, irregular political terrain. Enrollment statistics confirm this observation. Here is the example of one anonymous research institution; the numbers reflect undergraduate enrollments at the conclusion of the 1993 fall semester, the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty, the number of adjunct faculty, and the number of teaching assistants. The language enrollments represent individual students, whereas the literature enrollments might well represent the same student taking more than one course.

	Language Enrollments	Literature Enrollments	Ladder Faculty	Adjunct Faculty	Teaching Assistants
Chinese	127	4	3	5	1
French	465	118	16	3	20
German	276	24	9	6	8
Russian	84	20	10	3	2
Spanish	810	95	8	14	20

The numbers are stark, confronting us with a curious example of political chiasmas, where those who teach the largest numbers of students in a department—in other words, those who fulfill the department's major work load—have little or no authority over their professional activities and where those who have the lightest teaching loads and the smallest numbers of students have the most authority. The distinction of tenure track and adjunct is not simply a distinction of status and permanence: it is also a distinction of resources, since in few institutions are adjunct faculty eligible for travel funds, research funds, or even curricular grants. The distinction clearly demarcates the territory of research from the territory of teaching.

We are faced with a serious problem, a two-tiered system of teachers. The profession and our institutions have accommodated themselves to this fact without sufficient attention to real costs, training, continuity, quality, and morale. We have institutionalized a hierarchy of teaching and research, of insiders and outsiders, of permanent and parttime, of have's and have-not's. That is the "foreign language problem." That is the problem of governance.

The origins of the problem are complex. While there are many

accounts of the development of foreign language instruction in this country, most are teleological and progressivist in their outlook. Moreover, most accounts examine only the commonly taught languages and fail to take in "the alternative histories" of languages like Bengali, Japanese, or Polish. Without claiming to produce the definitive history of foreign language instruction, I would like to examine the *status quo* as a range of related concerns: (1) the departmental location of foreign language programs; (2) the academic identity of foreign language programs; and (3) the academic identity of the foreign language teacher. All three factors have created the current governance of foreign language teaching and learning in our colleges and universities.

The Departmental Location of Foreign Language Programs

Foreign language instruction is the historical child of diaspora and isolationism. Colleges and universities have developed a surprisingly diverse set of administrative dispositions to accommodate diverse languages and programs, and the forces of tradition and inertia have lent a special authority to those accommodations. Some institutions have separate departments for separate languages (e.g., the Department of French), but the names of such departments reveal little about their mission or orientation. Though the courses tend to be limited to the lower levels of language instruction and all levels of the study of literature, research focuses primarily on literary theory, criticism, and history. Other departments cast a wider net in their official names (e.g., Department of French Studies), suggesting a concern broader than language and literature courses. It is common for many institutions to combine two or more languages in a department, sometimes because of geographic and historical reasons (Spanish and Portuguese, where Portuguese is invariably the poor relation), sometimes for reasons of tradition combined with administrative convenience (French and Italian), sometimes for mere administrative expediency (e.g., German and Russian).

Many universities assemble their foreign language courses in cognate groupings (e.g., Department of Romance Languages and Literatures), but these putative cognate groupings rarely offer accurate reflections of what the departments do. Though a Romance language, Romanian, if it is taught at all, often resides in Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, as does Hungarian, which is not a Slavic language. Only a few Departments of Germanic Languages and Literatures maintain courses in Dutch, the Scandinavian languages, and Yiddish, but they retain their

grandiosely inclusive appellation. Many institutions, particularly colleges, situate all foreign languages (ancient and modern) or all modern foreign languages in one unit. The supposed justification of these Babel-like assemblies is that the languages and literatures in such departments are not English, though, oddly, the study of foreign works in translation is often done, inexplicably, by professors of English literature, who may not even read the requisite foreign languages. The academic justification of such arrangements is the marriage of convenience. Finally, there is the unique model of Cornell University, the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics; language and linguistics courses reside together in Morrill Hall, while literature courses reside in different departments across the campus. The so-called Cornell model is not pure, however; Hebrew and Arabic are taught in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Modern Greek resides in the Department of Classics, and Classical Chinese, which is necessary for high literacy in modern Chinese, resides apart from the modern tongue in the Department of Asian Studies. At the time this essay is being written, the fate of that model at Cornell is uncertain.

Beyond this array of departmental accommodations we should note other configurations. A common option is the department dedicated to geographic area studies (East Asian Studies, South Asian Studies), where the foreign language programs serve a broad but coherent range of disciplines (literature, religion, history, etc.). Some departments of linguistics offer foreign languages (e.g., Native American languages), because these languages present features of interest for the study of linguistics. Some departments of anthropology offer languages (e.g., Yucatec Maya or Quechua) to permit students to conduct field research, and some departments of religion offer ancient languages (e.g., Coptic, New Testament Greek) for the study of primary sources. In some institutions there is a continental, racial, or ethnic connection (e.g., Swahili or Yoruba in a Department of African American Studies). In order to meet different demands, foreign language courses have appeared in many professional programs: for example, German in business programs, Japanese in engineering programs, Spanish in medical programs. Such courses may or may not be taught by regular foreign language faculty. The latter examples suggest that the traditional structures of departments, themselves none too sound, are displaying cracks in their foundations. That the traditional accommodations do not entirely reflect our current needs is given ample evidence by the creation of new units called special (or critical) language programs or language centers (e.g., the exceptionally successful Penn Language Center at the University of Pennsylvania) that are meant to house "orphan" languages (e.g., Basque or Finnish) or special-purpose courses (e.g., Korean for business) that do not fit readily into existing departmental niches.

What are we to make of this departmental diffusion? It can suggest that institutions do not have to view foreign language teaching and learning as a single enterprise and that the activity can be situated wherever it is convenient. It strengthens the argument that there is no field of foreign languages. It can lead to the conclusion that foreign languages in and of themselves are of no special importance and that they are merely a stepping stone to some other pursuit, be it literature or anthropology or history or business. Or one can find little reason in this departmental confusion and conclude that chaos is the natural state of things. As Frederick Rudolph wittily remarks in his extraordinary history of American education, "If the world does not make sense, why should the curriculum?" (Rudolph 1981, pp. 1–2). Whatever interpretation one wishes to give to the state of affairs, it is clear that the departmental place of foreign languages is haphazard, inconsistent, and accidental. Foreign languages are not generally located in accordance with a discipline, like history or musicology. Like many of the teachers, foreign languages are adjunct. They are connected but not central. They have a place but not a position. Departmental diffusion is a *de facto* political and academic judgment about the academic identity of foreign language education.

The Academic Identity of Foreign Language Programs: A Historical Overview

The various administrative and linguistic designs for housing foreign language programs, as obvious and as conventional as they might appear, are telling, and they present an uneven landscape of purpose and accountability. Departmental location is traditional. In the different configurations, the foreign language programs stand invariably in second place, by which I mean that the language programs serve a purpose other than language learning *per se*. The language programs serve literary study, cultural studies, multicultural studies, ethnic studies, area studies, field work, linguistics, or some other discipline. The service function is not in itself demeaning. After all, language does not exist apart from performance—except for certain linguists. Language exists to exert meaning. The administrative dispersal of foreign languages across various departments, how-

ever, situates language teaching not only as a service but as a truly *secondary* service. It situates language learning not only as a skill for performing some other purpose, but *only* as a skill. Since departments have authority, power, and a budget, it is the departmental research agenda that determines how authority, power, and a budget are configured. Foreign language programs and consequently the foreign language teacher are given a distinct second place. The uneven landscape of foreign language departments mirrors the uncertain identity of foreign language programs in our colleges and universities: uncertain because of their size and cost in relation to their humble status.

There is a historical dimension to the current status of foreign language education in colleges and universities in this country, and, while it is not possible to rehearse that complex history in this context, it is nonetheless necessary to present it broadly drawn. That history includes (1) the process of the differentiation and the ultimate separation of language from literature; (2) the awkward entry of foreign languages into the college and university curriculum; and (3) the alliance of foreign languages with the notion of the national interest rather than with educational goals.

The pairing of the words *language* and *literature* in the titles of many departments is so commonplace that it scarcely attracts any attention, but behind that pairing lies a historical problem that has in turn bred additional problems. Initially, the dyad of language and literature embraced, somewhat uncomfortably, what were seen as two competing fields: the study of philology (language) and the study of (modern) literature. The study of modern literature sought to justify itself in the modern university curriculum in direct competition with the Greek and Latin classics (Carnochan 1993, pp. 61–63). Indeed, in the term "English language and literature," the word *language* originally referred to Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, the dead languages of texts of historical, linguistic, and literary interest, while the word *literature* meant modern literature, literature from the Renaissance on through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The debates recording the development of literary scholarship in this country pit language (philology) against literature (interpretation or criticism). In a recurring Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, the philology of the old languages gradually lost ground to the interpretation of modern (i.e., post-1500) literature. In that loss, the term and the discipline of *language* was demoted, and the term and the discipline of *literature* promoted (Graff and Warner 1989). The development of linguistics as an autonomous academic discipline (the Linguistics

Society of America, we should recall, was founded in 1924, and the journal *Language* appeared shortly thereafter) and the solid entrenchment of the study of modern literature had major consequences for the notion of language: the gradual diminishment and virtual disappearance of philology as a part of literary study, the field of linguistics increasingly divorced from the study of literature, and the term language left, as it were, impoverished and stranded.

The impoverishment of the term *language* also owes much to the national identities of the professoriate in foreign languages. There was once a time in this country when a profound and fluent knowledge of the contemporary spoken foreign language was neither common nor desirable among American-born professors of literatures; after all, following the logic of the origin of the literary disciplines, professors of Greek and Latin did not know those spoken languages. An achievement conferred by birth was an accident of fate, not an acquired specialization. While the dismissal of foreign language skills is no longer so common, the attitude about acquisition has not vanished (Redfield 1988). The arrival of large numbers of foreign-born scholars in foreign language and literature departments after the Second World War did little to alter attitudes; indeed, the acquisition of language skills assumed even smaller importance, since these scholars did not have to acquire what was theirs by birth. The intense development of foreign language instruction in the decades after the Second World War only reinforced the distinction of language and literature, as pragmatic concerns were opposed to scholarly knowledge. Binary distinctions are by nature hierarchical, and no reader will have to ponder long the status of the hierarchy of the terms *language* and *literature* in our colleges and universities.

That the dichotomy and different valuation of language and literature have not been a feature of the teaching of the ancient languages is testimony not simply to the traditional prestige of Greek and Latin but more to their fundamental coincidence with the undergraduate curriculum for more than two centuries on this continent. Uniting the study of language and literature, the study of the classics served as the model of how any and all languages and literatures should be studied. The systematics of philology on the one hand and the great moral and esthetic lessons of literature on the other form the incessant refrain of the value of the classics. From the famous Yale Report of 1828, which extolled the manner in which the study of the classics strengthen and enlarge the mental faculties, imbue the mind with the principles of liberty, inspire patriotism, excite to noble and

generous action, and reveal divine truth (Rudolph 1981, pp. 71–73), up to conventional current notions of how Latin trains the mind, the ancient languages have been fundamentally allied with the cultivation of intellectual powers. For modern languages, even English, to enter the undergraduate course of study, they had to emulate the classical model. When Francis March delivered a talk at the 1892 convention of the Modern Language Association, he praised the teaching of Anglo-Saxon, precisely because the ancient language made possible the study of the modern language. Because of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, professors "can now make English as hard as Greek," and they can choose books "which contain weighty truths, important facts, closed packed, expressed in musical simplicity, or with rhythmic distinction" (quoted in Graff and Warner 1989, p. 27).

Modern foreign languages first entered the undergraduate curriculum in response to pragmatic pressures from students; foreign languages were what in later years was called "relevant." Useful in foreign travel and in the conduct of business, they also appealed to engineers! (Rudolph 1981, pp. 63–65) Fostered also by a dislike of the ancient tongues, foreign languages began to appear toward the end of the eighteenth century with French taught at Harvard for the first time in 1782—it took another thirty years for the first professorship in modern languages to be established, at Harvard College—and eventually overwhelm and replace Greek and Latin in what amounted to an alliance of modern languages with secular knowledge.

Accounts of the awkward entry of modern foreign languages into the U.S. college and university curriculum confirm the uneasy confederation of language and literature. An address delivered by Herman Carl George Brandt at the first meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1883 implicitly contrasts the "scientific" study of literature with the casual teaching of foreign languages:

> There are many, who may not deny the claim of a science to the study of Modern Language, but they do not care whether it is or not. They want to learn how to read or to speak a little French or German or Italian, because the ability to do so is of great value to them. They are the utilitarians taking the "bread and butter view" of our merchant and the traveller, who want a little French or German, "just enough to get along, you know." They do not object to learning even "a little Latin and less Greek," because the vocabulary of their branch of learning is largely made up of words derived from Latin and Greek. . . . There are even teachers of modern languages, who do not realize that their department is a science. They teach at random, some with a textbook, some without any. At best, they satisfy the utilitarians' demands, and even this they could do better, if they took a strictly scientific starting point. (quoted in Graff and Warner 1989, p. 29)

With the appeal to "science"—and the German term *Wissenschaft* resounds in the contrast of what constitutes a discipline and everything else that is merely anecdotal and casual—Brandt seeks to make the case that others are still trying to make today, more than one century later, about the appropriateness of scholarship and research on foreign language teaching and learning. "The trouble with our teaching of modern languages is that it is loose, random, and unsystematic" (p. 30), Brandt continues to lament, foreshadowing the criticism of methodologists over the next eleven decades, and he places part of the blame on the fact that students have so many differing objectives that cannot be met in a single course. This voice from the past reads like a Greek historian or like Santayana reminding us that those who do not understand the past are doomed to repeat it.

Some fifty years after Brandt's MLA address, E. W. Bagster-Collins wrote a historical account of foreign language instruction in the United States. That account, read more than sixty years later, presents a sorry and neglected prophecy. Bagster-Collins (1930) identifies three major problems facing foreign language education :

1. the unstable position of foreign languages in the American curriculum,
2. the traditional uncertainty of the modern language teacher's position, and
3. the unclear objectives of modern language teaching. (pp. 5-6)

By the unstable position of foreign languages in the curriculum Bagster-Collins was referring to the fact that modern foreign languages were a relatively recent addition to the curriculum, and he noted with concern: ". . . there are many in the educational world who merely tolerate them in the schools and would like to see them replaced by something which they consider of greater value" (p. 5). The uncertainty of the language teacher's position is unchanged: Bagster-Collins wrote of instructors who were largely outsiders in the university context, foreigners who were not assimilated into the culture of higher education, people who were hired on

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demand with little security of position, and people whose salaries were lower than those of colleagues in other fields. If we disregard the slightly out-dated references in his work, Bagster-Collins's prognosis was uncannily accurate when he wrote of the unclear objectives of foreign language teaching.

> Lastly, the modern languages have always been method ridden, yet singularly lacking in objectives that were realizable or that had a demonstrable sale value. It has never been easy for teachers to reconcile the various possible objectives of foreign language acquisition with actual school conditions. Whether to teach pupils to speak or read, whether to teach according to the analytic or synthetic method continues to perplex scholars as it has done for hundreds of years. Consequently, in this day of measuring with an education yardstick, this uncertainty which prevails in the field of modern languages makes them very vulnerable to attack (p. 6).

It is unnecessary to bring these various historical accounts up to the present day to see the persistence of central problems. While, in one sense, the entrance of foreign languages into the curriculum was made possible by the development of the elective system of undergraduate courses, that system in effect pits subject against subject and discipline against discipline. With the fall of traditionally defined requirements, foreign languages found a place, but a place that was unstable. For some the solution was simply to have modern foreign languages emulate the classical languages: one high literacy was as good as another, with Cervantes, Dante, Goethe, and Racine assuming the positions of honor of Homer, Euripides, Virgil, and Horace. Many of these language teachers were teachers of literature. Those who taught by some version of the grammar translation method followed the procedures for teaching elementary Greek and Latin. But the literary camp was not monolithic and had never been so, for there were those who taught by some version of the direct method (related but not identical to the Direct Method of the latter half of this century) that allowed students to learn the language by reading great texts, that is by direct access to discourse rather than reliance on grammatical explanation. The direct method, in name or in practice, has been with language teachers and learners for centuries (Caravolas 1984, pp. 121–35; Titone 1986). Reflecting wider values like the importance of individual experience of texts over the mediation of formal grammars, Renaissance humanists like Vives, Lipsius, and Comenius advocated direct access to texts rather than

the scholastic study of linguistic form. The reaction against the tyranny of grammar recurs in the mid-nineteenth century (Bagster-Collins 1930; Rivers 1981, pp. 31–35) and, once again, little more than a century later, in the debates about grammatical accuracy versus proficient communication in our day. Whatever method they followed, those in the literary camp were, nonetheless, working from within the conditions of power, within literature departments that were growing in size, importance, and authority. For others, however, the teaching of foreign languages was considerably more complicated, since it involved an attempt to liberate modern languages from the classical burden and from literature and an effort to present effective methodologies. At no time can we say that there was agreement on how foreign languages might best be taught and learned; disagreement and debate appear to be the norm throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and all of this century (for perhaps the best summary account, see Stern 1983, pp. 97–116; see also Kelly 1969 and Rivers 1981, pp. 25–62).

The awkward entry of foreign languages into the college and university curriculum is accompanied by an equally awkward disarray of approaches and goals. The recurring debates concern the primacy of reading and writing or speech in language learning, the importance of learning according to a pedagogical grammar or from authentic language, the educational legitimacy of foreign languages in the undergraduate curriculum or their inappropriate usurpation of time, effort, and money, liberal education or practical training. Whatever the value of these different dichotomies, it is crucial to recognize that foreign language teaching and learning has always been controversial.

In this regard, the impact of the revolution of the so-called Army Method and its school-based offspring the Audio-Lingual Method (ALM, a term that emerged in the late 1950s) can scarcely be underestimated, because these methods brought along with them enormous reservoirs of conceptual, intellectual, and organizational strength. These methods rewrote the book, as it were, setting the entire discussion of language teaching and learning on another plane and in a different context. Hymes and Fought offer sober correctives to the standard historical accounts of American structuralism by debunking the dubious dichotomies of philology and structuralism and of historical study and synchronic analysis (Hymes and Fought 1981, pp. 50–51). The Army Method was the progeny of war in the modern world; it was the direct result of the U.S. government's need to prepare soldiers, intelligence officers, and diplomats for

their work on the world stage. For the first time in history, foreign language teaching became a matter of national interest (p. 62). The Army Method expressed the values of both science and democracy (p. 63) and carried with it a distinctly nationalist and militarist imperative, as is evident in testimony presented to Congress by Mortimer Graves, then president of the American Council of Learned Societies:

> No region is too remote to be the concern of American diplomacy. And all too frequently American armed forces must ply their trade in lands and among peoples whose very names would have been unknown to an earlier generation . . . . One would suppose accordingly that many Americans would be equipped with scientific and detailed understanding of these multifarious cultures, that the United States would lead the world in the study of foreign lands no matter how distant, that no society could be named for which there is no American expert, and that the American academic structure would reflect this world perspective . . . . Ideological World War III has started and there is no certainty that it is well won yet . . . . In this war for men's minds, obviously the big guns of our armament is competence in languages and linguistics. (quoted in Newmeyer 1986, pp. 55–56)

As a cultural artifact this passage warrants analysis, but suffice to say here that recent demands for increased federal spending for area studies and foreign languages mimic this primordial expression of the national interest. It is with the coupling of the national interest and language teaching that the associated disciplines move beyond philology and literature to linguistics and the social sciences. The concerns of language teaching shifted away from literature to linguistics, away from high culture to "multifarious cultures." In many ways the method represented an outright attack on certain conventions of higher education.

> It appears likely that language teaching was not merely an application of linguistics, and source of employment, but also played a vital part in the formation of consciousness of an autonomous linguistics with distinctive outlook. Whether or not the changes were due mainly to the discovery that traditional ways [of learning a language] did not work, Bloomfield, Sapir (to some extent), and their followers should be seen against the background of language study in higher education in their time. There were powerful interest groups among philologists and modern language (i.e., literature) teachers. Both groups were schooled in traditional grammar, and had been exposed to, if not steeped in, an atomistic type of comparative phonology (e.g., prospective Milton scholars being required to take Old English and in it to learn Germanic sound correspondences). These groups, and their professional societies, were often committed to a conservative or puristic attitude toward the cultural values of literary and historical study. (Hymes and Fought 1981, p. 64)

By working on exotic languages and non-standard dialects, the structural linguists challenged the claims of established method and the traditional values in language teaching with claims of universality and practicality.

The Army Method and the Audio-Lingual Method changed the nature of foreign language education. The Army Method changed the foreign languages that were taught in our institutions of higher education, bringing the languages of the non-Western Europe to the fore. The related methods formalized the dichotomy of declarative knowledge (usage, fact) and procedural knowledge (use, act). By seeing as irreconcilable opposites two kinds of knowledge that are perhaps different and complementary, the two methods asserted themselves with military vigor and confidence. With their behaviorist underpinnings, they conceived of language learning exclusively as the acquisition of an automatic skill. Bloomfield's early guide on language learning virtually barks at the students with upper-case commands: "YOU CANNOT BE NATURAL IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE. YOU MUST MIMIC." "LANGUAGE LEARNING IS OVERLEARNING; ANYTHING LESS IS OF NO USE." "PRACTICE EVERYTHING UNTIL IT BECOMES SECOND NATURE." (Bloomfield 1942, pp. 5, 12, 16) The methods with their reductionism—language was conceived of as a series of superficial changes of form—and with their proscription of analytical skills lies, I believe, at the heart of the low intellectual and political esteem in which language learning and language teaching are still held in many colleges and universities. Take note. Virtually anyone who studied a foreign language in the United States up to the year 1970 was subjected to the Audio-Lingual Method in one form or another. To put it another way, virtually almost all college and university administrators who have studied a foreign language have had the direct experience of that method and of no other approaches in the field, unless they happen to be part of the foreign language profession.

I shall not take this account of the historical dimension of the foreign language problem closer up to the present, not because there have not been changes—far from it!—but because despite change the foreign language problem persists. New approaches, new methodologies, etc. have

not done much to advance the cause of foreign languages. Whether one wishes to speak of crisis (Lange 1994, pp. 12–16) or of disaggregation of resources (Lambert 1984, *passim*), one has, above all, to recognize that the various problems that face foreign language teaching and learning have been around for a long time, have different sources, and have had different attempts at solutions (Stern 1983, p. 97).

The Academic Identity of the Foreign Language Teacher

Most important for the purposes of this essay, the Army and Audio-Lingual Methods changed the identity and function of the corps of foreign language teachers. Learning was transformed into the hearing and imitating of native speakers of the target language. Those speakers were christened *informants* (Bloomfield 1942, p. 2), and native informants were to be quite different from regular college and university teachers: "The informant is not a teacher and must not be treated as such." In other words, the informant is not a repository of declarative knowledge. Indeed, since there is posited to be no connection between declarative and procedural knowledge (p. 3), it is better that the informant not be literate! This dogma extended beyond methodology and curriculum and created a system of governance the remnants of which persist today in many institutions. Once the teacher is reduced to the status of an informant, ideally an illiterate informant and an informant who is innocent of a knowledge of English (Cornyn 1961, p. i), he or she has lost all semblance of being an educator and is little more than a drill sergeant.

The alliance of the language methodology with the national interest brought with it another complication: it brought into question to whom language teachers were responsible. By disassociating foreign language teaching from the study of literature, the two methods and many of their successors left a power vacuum. Even though most foreign language programs continue to reside in language and literature departments, the challenge had been made, and others—but certainly not non-English-speaking native informants and ultimately not language teachers themselves—decided to determine the course of language instruction. In some institutions we see faculty from other departments (area studies, international studies, etc.) making demands on what the students should know and be able to do in a required amount of time. Students supposedly are making demands for pragmatically oriented courses, though whether there exists any consensus remains unclear (Harlow and Muyskens 1994, pp. 141–49). The federal government through its various grant programs

in different agencies and through the more recent standards movement seeks to state its own demands. The American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) effectively makes demands with its guidelines, and other professional associations and organizations follow suit in different ways. Persistent outside pressures now seem to carry more weight than internal educational discussion. In some strange sense, foreign language teachers have had their educational responsibilities usurped by the very organizations that supposedly promote their activities.

Institutions are responding to these external pressures and to the internal needs of foreign language programs either by straightforwardly hiring and tenuring ladder faculty with expertise in foreign language teaching and learning or by experimenting with new positions. Stanford University has what it calls the "parenthetical professorships," positions where senior professorial status is granted with the understanding that the focus (but not exclusive domain) of one's position is teaching; thus foreign languages and music have parenthetical professors, e.g., Professor of French (Teaching), Professor of Music (Teaching). The positions carry tenure. More than ten years ago Harvard University created a new position for foreign languages called the Professor of the Practice, not unlike the parenthetical professorship at Stanford, and that position has resulted in extraordinary gains in foreign language programs at that institution; one can cite the exciting work accomplished by Patricia Chaput in Russian and by the late Tazuko Ajiro Monane in Japanese, among others. It should be noted that in both cases the professor of the practice had training in linguistics, was a master teacher in her own right, had a clear vision of where the program as a whole should proceed, and was brilliant in elevating the status of the staff of lecturers through collaboration and cooperation. The position carries *de facto* tenure, although technically it is renewable every five years, and in some cases *de jure* tenure. Princeton University has created the position of Senior Lecturer in some foreign language programs; the position does not carry tenure and is renewable, but it is comparable in pay and status to an associate professorship. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology also has the position of Senior Lecturer, renewable upon extensive external review and meriting paid sabbatical leave (an unusual feature of non-ladder positions).

Increasingly the pages of the MLA Job List or of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* include new positions for foreign language program coordinators. Here are two similar examples, with identifying information deleted, one from a private research institution, the other from a large public university:

> Assistant Professor, recent Ph.D. in French, with strong qualifications in applied linguistics and foreign language pedagogy, will coordinate language instruction and organize supervision of teaching assistants. Must have native-like command of French and be qualified to teach advanced composition and conversation . . . . Send letter, vita, writing sample, and placement dossier to . . . .
>
> Assistant Professor. Coordinator of Spanish Language Instruction. Responsibilities include training and supervising graduate teaching assistants and coordinating the lower-division language program. Ph.D., native or near-native proficiency in Spanish, excellence in teaching and demonstrable achievement in scholarship are required. Candidates with training or experience in Linguistics, Methodology, Language Acquisition, or other relevant fields are especially encouraged to apply . . . . Please send a letter of application, a recent curriculum vitae, and dossier including at least three letters of reference to . . . .

Job announcements like these offer clear testimony that departments are no longer able to respond with their own personnel resources to the administrative and intellectual demands of maintaining foreign language programs. Both announcements read like traditional announcements, with the exceptions that the administrative component is explicit and that instead of a literary specialization qualifications in some aspect of foreign language education are required. Both of these appointments are, theoretically, tenure track, and both demonstrate a common trend.

In addition to the routine departmental appointment of a language program coordinator, some institutions have instituted or are considering the appointment of a central coordinator for foreign language instruction. The University of Pennsylvania once had a *decanal* appointment, which was not filled when the incumbent accepted a position at another university (Freed 1988). The University of California at Berkeley established a Language Center and appointed a senior professor as its director. At the time this essay is being written, Stanford University has advertised the position of the director of its new Language Center, not dissimilar from the position across the bay: That position is to oversee all foreign language instruction in the university, to work to develop proficiency testing materials, to encourage the development of computer-based instructional materials, and to develop interdisciplinary ties between the Language Center and programs in literature, linguistics, and cultural studies. Such positions have come to be known, perhaps as an expression of fear of a totalitarian regime or as an intimation of ultimate doom at the hands of the *vulgus profanum*, as the Language Czar. Such positions are potentially revolutionary, because it is rare that any university centralizes the development, oversight, and evaluation of foreign language programs, despite their considerable size and costs. Departments are their own guardians and wards. Lack of supervision is part of a tradition of departmental autonomy. The new positions reflect the incapacity of our current academic structures to meet the needs of foreign language education, and they cast doubt on unexamined departmental autonomy.

All the experimentation with new positions, whatever form they may assume, is directed at *directors* of programs. That orientation is in itself encouraging, but it perhaps fails to account for the wider problems that I have adumbrated in this essay. Placing the responsibility of a foreign language program on a single person is both too much and too little: too much, because no single person can control what is ultimately a collaborative effort, and too little, because the needs of the larger corps of foreign language teachers are not necessarily addressed by "coordination." If a coordinator's position is created to bring new academic expertise and professional vitality to a department, that is one thing, and a good one. If a coordinator's position is created to relieve the rest of the department of the responsibility of participating in and of being concerned with the language program, that is quite another thing, and obviously not a good one. Since the title of coordinator has no official status in most institutions—the formal title is senior lecturer, or assistant professor, or some other rank indicated in the manual of official institutional policy—it is becoming increasingly evident that the title is ambiguous at best. An academic or administrative portfolio without a mandate other than "coordinate or improve the foreign language programs" poses problems rather than solving them. Just what are the lines of authority? Is the head of a course responsible to the coordinator or to the chair or, in some awkward way, to both individuals? Is the coordinator the director of the entire program with the explicit authority to hire and fire teachers, to determine textbooks, syllabi, and methodology? Or is the coordinator a kind of magician or diplomat working instructional and personnel miracles by persuasion and example? Or is the coordinator simply a savvy administrator? Colleges and universities are seeking ways to reorganize foreign language instruction and in effect are seeking new models of governance.

Permutations of the Term Governance

The term *governance* derives from the discourse of the social sciences, where it denotes both the structure and the process of decision-making in an organization (Peterson and Mets 1987, p. 3). Analysts and researchers have extended the use of the term across many areas of inquiry, including federal, state, and local government, corporations, social service agencies, not-for-profit organizations, public schools, and, last but not least, institutions of higher education. Rather than simply documenting official structures of authority (e.g., a chart of the officers of an institution), the analysis of governance seeks to uncover how organizational structure informs the process of decision-making and how decisions are often taken in a manner inconsistent with the official hierarchy of authority. For example, in examining the workings of a private agency that provides day care services in a region, an analysis of governance would look beyond roles of the officers and the governing board of the agency to the significant effect of federal and state grant and contract programs in determining what activities the agency chooses to perform. Or the examination of the governance of a cultural organization like a museum or ballet company might well demonstrate how the authority of the board members is established informally by those members' wealth rather than by their esthetic judgment or their financial acumen. The obvious analogy in a foreign language program is the role of the guidelines of federal and foundation grant programs in shaping new directions in the curriculum, as has been obvious in the promotion of oral proficiency testing by the Department of Education or of foreign languages across the curriculum by the Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education (FIPSE) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Studies of governance in higher education tend to assess the varying roles of administrators, boards of trustees, and faculty members in order to establish how change and reform come about. The study of academic governance of higher education began some thirty-five years ago (Corson 1960).

Researchers in the academic field of higher education administration have proposed various models of governance (for a summary, see Hardy 1990). These models tend to apply one or another social scientific model onto the workings of higher education. Because they are couched in a professional language generally unfamiliar to foreign language faculty, some of these models warrant a rapid summary here. Foreign language faculty are not accustomed to think of their positions in terms of governance, management, and leadership and might well find themselves like the *bourgeois gentilhomme* exclaiming the sudden realization not only that they speak prose but that they are governed. These models might not be familiar, but the descriptions will have the all too familiar ring of authenticity. It goes without saying that these descriptive models are not absolutes. They merge, blur, and overlap.

The *Bureaucratic Model* suggests that formal rules are required for the proper functioning of an organization. The increase in size and complexity of many academic institutions draws attention to the need for administrative structures to provide necessary coordination and direction. An Office of Research Administration or an Office of Grants and Contracts on university campuses are examples of the Bureaucratic Model, as are the many deans assigned to deal with student groups, social problems, or other nonacademic affairs. Academics are wont to bridle at this classic Weberian model, since they see themselves fulfilling roles other than the smooth maintenance of a hierarchical organization, but new appointments of language program coordinators attest to the Bureaucratic Model. The size and the increasing complexity of foreign language programs—the many sections, the large staffs, the complex scheduling of meetings, not to speak of professional development of teaching assistants—reflect the demand for such a model of governance. That model, moreover, suggests the dilemma of the coordinator's position: the Bureaucratic Model runs counter to the notion of academic autonomy and to a scholar's self-identification. The traditional demands of a bureaucracy (the discipline and order of an organization based on a fixed chain of authority) ill match an educator's creativity and independence. The problem of the Bureaucratic Model, however, runs deeper, because the model assumes a clear chain of decision-making and authority. But to whom is a language coordinator accountable? To the chair? To a dean? To the literature faculty? To the area studies faculty? To the students? To the profession? Ultimately, the Bureaucratic Model fails to serve the governance of foreign language teaching and learning because the position of the coordinator is always a hybrid. Its structure is administrative; its content is intellectual.

The *Professional Model* establishes authority based upon external norms, namely expertise and knowledge as validated by the profession. "Allegiance is to the profession or discipline rather than to the organization, and adherence to professional values rather than to organized goals binds members. Thus coordination is achieved by the standardization of skills and commitment by socialization in professional norms, both of which are acquired by professional training . . . " (Hardy 1990, p. 394).

The Professional Model suggests a different, and perhaps more troubling, dilemma for foreign language teachers and for all faculty alike: the tension between professional and institutional allegiances, or, as James Noblitt puts it, the competing forces of the external demands of the particular discipline to produce recognized scholarship and the internal demands of the institution to serve the educational needs of the students (Noblitt 1988, p. 15; see also Boyer 1990, p. 13). Professional recognition in the academy and prestige—for that is what promotion and tenure are—are determined outside one's department and institution by external evaluation and within the department and institution by reference to the same professional norms. Departments are defined more by their research orientations than by their institutional mandate. As Ernest Boyer has lamented, academic status is dependent on research and publication (Boyer 1990, p. xii). The norms of research universities have affected (infected?) all of higher education, and it is no secret that many liberal arts colleges, which profess their faculty's dedication to undergraduate teaching, in fact select that faculty on the basis of research publications.

The problem for language coordinators, in terms of the Professional Model, is that their research and publications belong to one profession (be it applied linguistics, psycholinguistics, second language acquisition, etc.) while the majority of their colleagues in the same department belong to another profession (be it literary theory, linguistics, or cultural studies). Moreover, publications by foreign language teachers—whether they are the results of applied research, textbooks, or other curricular materials—pose problems for colleagues in the other profession. Frequently, departments do not have anyone capable or interested in evaluating such materials; indeed, in departments where success is measured by one's ability to avoid foreign language instruction, writing a textbook is considered a symbol of mediocrity or failure. To compound the difficulty, the value of materials developed by foreign language teachers is of an entirely different order from the products of standard literary or linguistic research. A historical monograph on some aspect of Orientalism in nineteenth-century France or an article on the stylistics of abrupt and formal verb forms in Japanese is intended to contribute to a growing base of knowledge. Scholarship in second or foreign language acquisition does the same, but foreign language curricular materials, are by nature ephemera. Done properly, curricular materials reflect and embody scholarly concerns, but they are not scholarly research. Materials like an annotated article from the *People's Daily* or various print materials to accompany a SCOLA satellite

transmission are intended to be used and discarded, updated and refined. The effort behind such materials is often "invisible" and not easily recognized by those who have not performed such labor. Frank Miller, director of the Russian language programs at the Harriman Institute and the Slavic Department of Columbia University, reported in a telephone conversation (1992) that the one hundred pages of materials that he and Igor Savelev prepared to accompany a one-hour videotape of *Vremia* news broadcasts required almost eight hundred hours of work, in other words, eight hours of joint labor per page. The Professional Model of governance thus fails to serve the governance of foreign language teaching and learning, because the definitions of the profession are biased against teaching, on the one hand, and, on the other, against the various forms of second language acquisition research.

The *Collegial Model* suggests that a community of scholars recognizes its common interest and, accordingly, establishes authority through consensus. Of late the use of the word *consensus* has increased exponentially in higher education, obviously because there is not consensus about fundamental issues of the curriculum. The financial, intellectual, and moral demands on today's colleges and universities seem to render the Collegial Model a virtual impossibility. Foreign language education is not immune from the call for consensus (Kramsch 1994). The discussion of the Collegial Model pays insufficient attention to the value of debate and dissension, probably because endless debate weakens the administrative structure of an organization and leads to the Anarchical Model.

The *Anarchical Model* posits random acts with little basis in rules, expertise, or political authority, resulting in an institution where the goals are problematic, where methodology is unclear, and where participation in decisions is fluid (Birnbaum 1988, p. 154). The Anarchical Model might be viewed as a subset or result of the Professional Model, where autonomous actors go about their business unmindful of the needs of the organization. It is perhaps the model that results from (hyper)specialization, the lack of common ground, the failure of common understanding, and it appears to be the model that characterizes departments in which linguists, literary historians or theorists, and foreign language teachers have little to do with one another and understand little of one another's work.

The *Garbage Can Model* proposes organized anarchies where decisions are made primarily by default and where waste is the primary product: irrelevant problems beget irrelevant solutions. The picturesque name for this model masks a serious problem. "Garbage cans in an organization act

like buffers or "energy sinks" that absorb problems, solutions, and participants like a sponge and prevent them from sloshing around and disturbing arenas in which people wish to act. Ad hoc long-range institutional planning committees may be the quintessential garbage cans, temporarily providing "homes" for any conceivable institutional problem, solution, or participant. But there may also be permanent structural garbage cans, such as the academic senate, that function at least in part to draw unwanted participants, problems, or solutions away from decision areas . . ." (Birnbaum 1988, p. 165) This writer was once informed by an eminent foundation officer that foreign language education in the United States was a garbage can or cesspool. While I cannot verify whether that social scientist was up-to-date on his reading in the issues of governance, his insulting metaphor is urgent and cautionary. To some extent academic autonomy encourages the Garbage Can Model. Many attacks on the perceived disarray of the undergraduate curriculum (Bennett 1984; AAC 1985; Cheney 1989) make overt or covert reference to the smorgasbord of course offerings. In the realm of foreign language instruction one has only to point politely at programs where the first, second, and third years of instruction are independent, uncoordinated, and even mismatched. In perfect demonstration of the Garbage Can Model of governance, one university, which will remain anonymous, has convened five separate committees over seven years to examine, again and again, the "foreign language problem," and nothing has changed.

What, a reader might well ask, is the point of this exceptional and extradisciplinary transgression into the social sciences? What do the terms of social science analysis have to do with the coordination, maintenance, and improvement of foreign language programs? The names and descriptions of these various models appear to suggest a rather lugubrious sense of humor, but we might recognize in each of them accurate mirrors of our own daily professional lives. The models conjure up how decisions are taken about the status of foreign language faculty and how many foreign language faculty seem to make decisions. This volume may well deal with redefining the boundaries of foreign language study, and it is necessary to wander *in partibus infidelium* for aspects of that redefinition.

Governance and Foreign Languages

The stimulus for applying the notion of governance to foreign language study stemmed from the polymathic interests of James S. Noblitt, author of the essay on technology in this volume. While professor of linguistics at

Cornell University and coordinator of teacher training, Noblitt turned his attention to the issues of the staffing of foreign language programs. That attention resulted in a workshop held at Cornell in the autumn of 1986 and in a symposium conducted by the Consortium for Language Teaching and Learning in 1987; that symposium in turn resulted in published proceedings (Patrikis 1988b). Noblitt's initial consideration of the problems of governance arose, it is clear, out of his own particular local experience, his work with the exceptionally large staff of lecturers and senior lecturers in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at Cornell, a department responsible for undergraduate and graduate programs in linguistics and for instruction in more than forty languages. The central issue, it soon became clear, was not unique to Cornell, nor to private research institutions, nor even to universities responsible for teaching many languages.

The governance of foreign language teaching and learning has assumed a place of prominence in the listserver managed by Elizabeth Guthrie of the University of California at Irvine (FLASC-L, "an unmoderated electronic discussion forum for people involved in supervising and coordinating university-level foreign-language programs"), but it has not assumed a high profile in the literature. Not quite ten years ago in a paper on the conflicting roles of the language program coordinator Trisha Dvorak commented on the tensions between professional academic advancement and administrative overloads (Dvorak 1986). An informal survey of the *Foreign Language Annals* and the *Modern Language Journal*, which declares itself "devoted primarily to methods, pedagogical research, and topics of professional interest to all language teachers," reveals few articles devoted to the general problem of the governance of foreign language faculty or related administrative concerns. Richard Teschner's oft cited survey of the academic backgrounds of language program coordinators does not specifically treat governance but implies the problem in making a case for "educational linguists" (Teschner 1987). One article published in the *Modern Language Journal* in 1988, however, approached the issue indirectly by asking in effect what should properly constitute the professional interests of foreign language teachers (McKay and Wong 1988). Reflecting aspects of the bureaucratic and professional models of governance, the authors noted, "It is clear that social and political attitudes and processes profoundly affect our professional activities in the domestic arena, through, for example, the funding of language programs, state and federal mandates for teacher training and certification, curriculum require-

ments, and community support" (p. 379). While that observation focuses only on external forces that control and inform foreign language programs, the article is one of the rare examples in the professional journals of concerns that reach above and beyond professional issues of foreign language research, methodology, and pedagogy. Indeed, the authors themselves had conducted a survey of articles published in the *Foreign Language Annals*, the *Modern Language Journal*, and the *TESOL Quarterly*, and they conclude, ". . . heavy stress on pedagogy is potentially problematic, as it may foster the idea that what happens in the classroom is the most important concern of language professionals and suggest that the low status of language teaching is directly related to a lack of sociopolitical awareness (p. 384).

The *ADFL Bulletin* has devoted more attention to the issue, undoubtedly because of that journal's wider concern with administrative issues. Some of these articles deal with the traditional and insidious separation of language and literature in many departments (Barnett 1991; Shumway 1988; Sudermann 1993), while others make special cases for methodologists (Harris-Schenz 1993; Lalande 1991; Lee 1987; Sadow 1989). However illuminating many of these articles are in their diagnosis of the problem, they are to a good extent vitiated by a certain tone of special pleading and perhaps overly righteous virtue. One unorthodox and heretical article in the *Bulletin* openly acknowledges the central problem—the low status of foreign language courses and of teachers—and adumbrates its fundamentally *political* nature, but that author's solution to the political problem is "to get the university out of the language teaching business" by imposing a strict foreign language entrance requirement (Redfield 1988, p. 12)!

In 1985 the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (representing the Big Ten institutions and the University of Chicago) issued a policy statement on the position of foreign language program coordinators. That resolution recommended that coordinators; (1) be appointed to tenure-track positions; (2) be granted course-load reductions to compensate for the administrative part of their work; (3) have a support structure in accordance with the size of the program; (4) have work in a language program presented under the rubric of teaching for promotion and tenure decisions; and (5) have publications in pedagogy, second language acquisition, applied linguistics recognized in promotion and tenure decisions (Committee on Institutional Cooperation, 1985). These recommendations assert a Professional Model of governance (the first, fourth, and fifth

recommendations) and in effect seek to establish the rights and credentials of the multi-part field of foreign language education. At the same time they combine the Professional Model with the Bureaucratic Model of governance (the second and third recommendations) without acknowledging that there is a contradiction in asserting both the academic validity of a field and the administrative nature of the coordinator's position. The recommendations can be taken as ambiguous: They do not make clear whether the position of the language coordinator is a special case or side track (and therefore not really equivalent to other academic appointments) or whether it is a new configuration heralding, at last, an understanding of the complex needs of foreign language programs. Finally, the recommendations could not foresee the sorry economic plight of colleges and universities since 1985. With budget and staff cuts an appointment to a tenure-track position is unlikely these days to mean a new FTE appointment; it means taking away another appointment. At that moment professional interests, territoriality, and politics take over.

Predictably, the issue of governance appears in the publication series of the American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC) (Lee and VanPatten 1991· Rifkin 1992, *inter alios*). The majority of these articles is written by individuals from large public institutions, often coinciding with the membership of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, where very high enrollments, the consequent large number of sections, and the large teaching staff of graduate teaching assistants and part-time lecturers have necessitated the administrative/academic position of the foreign language program coordinator. The AAUSC has also issued a "Statement of Policy on the Hiring of TA Supervisors":

> While AAUSC recognizes the diversity of needs and constraints existing at institutions of higher learning across the country, the issue of hiring candidates as TA supervisors needs to be addressed. Because the majority of students enrolled in foreign language departments in major institutions of higher learning are taught by graduate teaching assistants, who are often inexperienced, or by instructors, who may be new to the institution and not on tenure track, it is absolutely essential that specialists supervise them. Fields of expertise of TA supervisors include applied linguistics, foreign language or ESL pedagogy, linguistics of the target language, and occasionally literature of the target language with training and experience in supervision. All of these fields have a theoretical basis, are intellectually rigorous, and have numerous outlets for research findings, including prestigious, refereed journals and presses.

> Every department is broadened and strengthened by the presence of such a scholar on its faculty. It is the policy of the AAUSC that all faculty hired as TA supervisors receive a tenure-track appointment at the assistant professor level or receive faculty status and tenure for senior appointments in line with the policies of the hiring department concerning other areas of specialization. TA supervisors must have all the rights and privileges as their colleagues at rank, particularly with respect to raises, promotion, and tenure. In recognition of their additional work load and their impact on a department, TA supervisors must have a reduced work load by teaching no more than one course per semester/quarter when responsible for ten or more TA's and instructors. An exception to this policy is the hiring of ABD's or recent Ph.D.s with a specific time limit on the condition that the candidate is to work closely with an established scholar in an apprenticeship position, which will strengthen this person's professional training. It is expected that this apprenticeship will have a limited term.

The AAUSC Statement mirrors the concerns of the CIC resolution, out of which it undoubtedly evolved, and it shares the problems of those earlier recommendations. The problem is stated in both documents primarily as one of rank, salary, promotion, and tenure of the language program coordinator. In other words, the primary concern is stated not as a matter of educational policy or the quality of foreign language programs; it is the status of the coordinator, the political equilibrium and equality of that position with other positions in departments. It is significant, and somewhat troubling, to observe that both statements restrict their purview to coordinators, neglecting and ignoring the broader concerns of governance: They pass over the status and concerns of the large ranks of adjunct faculty. Indeed, one article that promotes the position of the foreign language program coordinator goes so far as to suggest that the foreign language program coordinator have a support staff that includes graduate students, *lecturers* [emphasis mine], and junior faculty (Lee and VanPatten 1991, p. 115). No one would dispute the need for a support staff for large programs, but whether that support staff, the fundamental task of which is clerical and organizational, needs the services of graduate students, lecturers, and untenured junior faculty is open to question. The current hierarchies of research and teaching, tenured and untenured, empowered and disenfranchised are unquestioned and reaffirmed by these official and unofficial statements. There is a clear attempt to shift the terrain, to redefine the boundaries of authority, to broaden the sense of the discipline to

embrace research in applied linguistics, second language acquisition, methodology, etc., but no fundamental challenge to the *status quo* is put forward.

The Solution to the Foreign Language Problem?

The acquisition of a foreign language is a life-long process and unlikely to be accomplished within a college or university classroom in two or three years. Formulas for instant success are fraudulent, and ritualistic complaints like "I had four years of Spanish when I was in high school and I still can't order a meal in Mexico" are naive. Demands for literacy, even in the so-called cognate languages, are inflated: Proust or Bourdieu or Braudel or Foucault do not follow second-year French. Unrealistic expectations derive from many sources: a simplistic (and usually mechanistic) notion of language acquisition; the assumption that a second language should be acquired as easily as a first language; a paltry understanding of the complexity of language as social practice (Kramsch and McConnell-Ginet 1992); laziness; impatience, or a host of other reasons. Consequently, the academic goals of foreign language instruction must be made clear. That clarity of purpose must extend beyond mere skill-getting, or students and administrators alike will continue to demean foreign language education. The discourse of foreign language education must focus on education and not simply on foreign language.

Two reports separated by a dozen years illustrate my concern. In a survey devoted to the professional needs of teaching assistants, the highest priority was given to (1) learning teaching methods and techniques, (2) teaching the four skills, (3) teaching conversation or speaking, (4) making the class interesting, (5) making the best use of class time, (6) teaching grammar, and (7) inspiring/motivating students (Ervin and Muyskens 1982, p. 342). No one would deny the validity of such needs, but one can express astonishment at the fact that these needs appear to be purely instrumental and lack any suggestion of an educational vision appropriate for a college or university course. The needs are generic and apply as well to elementary school, secondary school, extension courses, or third-party commercial enterprises. Another survey, this one on the goals of intermediate language instruction, offered the following choices to students: career applications, culture, improvement of English, grammar, listening, pronunciation, reading (newspapers, etc.), reading (literature), self-confidence, speaking, survival, translating, vocabulary, and writing (Harlow and Muyskens 1994). Those choices represent a heterogeneous grab bag of

skills, aspects of language, affective outcomes, and practical activities. The terms of the survey are couched in such a way that, once again, no educational vision is suggested.

When a professor of literature or a professor of physics contends combatively that a first-year German course is not the same as a course on the novels of Thomas Mann or a course on quantum mechanics, the response cannot be simply that second language acquisition research is a valid field of inquiry (yes, it is) or that language teaching is demanding (yes, it is). Second language acquisition research does not have an *a priori* educational vision—nor for that matter do literary criticism, history, or theory—and is thus insufficient in and of itself to solve the foreign language problem. The demands of the classroom have no automatic bearing on the educational validity of a course; teaching bel canto singing is also demanding, but a course in operatic performance, however instructive, is not necessarily informed by educational values. The journal articles, the commission reports, and policy statements that have been reviewed above are not wrong, but they miss the mark. If a field represents itself primarily in terms of skills or performance, then it effectively diminishes its role and status in higher education. The peril of limiting one's vision to a surface structure of the here-and-now reality leads to a nagging sense of incompleteness (Murphy 1991, pp. 141–42), and that incompleteness finds itself reflected on a daily basis in the way that outsiders view the field of foreign language education. In asking why discussions of literary theory, pedagogy, and politics so often exclude foreign languages, Jeffrey Peck indirectly puts his finger on the problem (Peck 1992, p. 11). If foreign language teachers are not trained in literary theory, pedagogy, and politics, among a whole range of subjects, how can they, Peck asks, participate in such discussions? Indeed, one can extend the question and ask why the study of foreign languages plays so small a role in recent contentious debates on the nature of the undergraduate curriculum (Patrikis 1988a). Peck both solves and aggravates the problem by raising the ante: elevating the level of discourse about foreign language teaching and demanding new expertise on the part of foreign language teachers. The names of James Clifford, Hans Georg Gadamer, and Clifford Geertz, or journals like *Critical Inquiry* and *Dialectical Anthropology* can hardly be considered well represented in foreign language teacher training courses, nor do such courses normally touch upon the history of American education. I am not asserting that foreign language teachers need to study anthropology, cultural criticism, or social history, but they do need to know that such fields exist and that they

impinge directly on their efforts in the classroom (Kramsch and McConnell-Ginet 1992, pp. 3–25).

I am not rehearsing here the skills-versus-content debate (Kramsch 1988a) nor am I making a plea for content over method. I am, however, asserting the primacy of reading—reading conceived in the widest sense to include the reading not solely of literary and non-literary texts but also the reading of video, pictures, buildings, social interchanges, etc., reading as the critical act of observation, analysis, and reflection. I am calling for the intellectual organization of a language program with the structure and theoretical underpinnings provided by second language acquisition research. What that intellectual organization is remains open to choice.

It is common, for example, for fifth- or even fourth-semester courses in the cognate languages to offer sections devoted to literature or civilization or high-order language skills, but it is also possible for elementary instruction to take the high road. The development of the Russian language program at Harvard University, under the direction of Patricia Chaput, offers an illuminating example. Recognizing that most of the undergraduate students in Russian were seeking to satisfy the foreign language requirement and thus were studying the language for only two years, Chaput posed simple questions: What are the students going to get out of the courses? What more can they get? What will remain with them after ten years? The questions and her answers shifted the focus from proficiency to efficiency, from language learning to general education. Over several years every aspect of the courses has been changed. Here are the descriptions of the first- and second-year courses from the course catalogue:

> Elementary Russian: Introduction to the essentials of Russian grammar, designed for students without previous knowledge of Russian. Intensive speaking practice in grammar structures using naturally occurring conversational patterns. Introduction to speech etiquette of social exchanges. One hour per week devoted to the reading and discussion of stories, biography, and poetry.
>
> Intermediate Russian: Major emphasis on the development of vocabulary and oral expression with continuing work on difficult grammar topics. Vocabulary thematically organized to include such topics as self and family, education, work, human relationships, politics, and national attitudes. Includes practice in the etiquette of common social situations. Vocabulary reinforced through film and the reading of classical and contemporary fiction and history. . . .

These are descriptions of an ambitious program that seeks to refute the dichotomies of method or skill versus content. Deeply contextualized in aspects of Russian culture, the lexicon, grammar, and syntax aim at a knowledge and understanding of Russian cultural literacy. The poems, expressions, folktales, etc. are those that every Russian knows and loves; the realia come from Russian markets; the chapter topics reflect the concerns of an American student in Russia. Breaking the one tradition to establish another tradition, the course has students read books in English about Russia. These are not courses about Russian culture: They are courses that offer various aspects of Russian culture as the grounding of linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge, and they represent one authentic and fully conceived educational vision.

The work in cross-cultural understanding as the foundation of language learning proposed by Claire Kramsch of the University of California at Berkeley in many presentations and papers (Kramsch 1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b, 1994, *inter alia*) presents the challenge of another educational vision, one grounded in critical pedagogy and profound humanistic principles. It is not necessary to restate here the arguments of these important and illuminating papers, since they have achieved the prominence that is their due.

Early in this essay I proposed that the foreign language teacher needs to justify his or her existence both as a teacher of a specific language and as representative of the field of foreign languages in general. Perhaps that proposal should be revised to state that the foreign language teacher needs to justify his or her existence both as a teacher of a specific language and as an educator. What distinguishes the work of Chaput, Kramsch, and many other extraordinary teaching scholars is the constant and consistent dual perspective, on language learning and on education. In other words, I submit that the patterns of governance will shift only when the intellectual configuration of foreign language teaching and learning changes and reestablishes the educational validity of foreign language teaching and learning.

There can be no single solution to the foreign language problem, because institutional requirements and settings will demand different accommodations. Chaput's program revision was executed within a given context of intellectual, personnel, and program resources and may, or may not, be transplantable as such elsewhere. The educational vision behind the program that seeks to bind tightly learning the language and learning about the language, about the people who speak the language, and about

that people's view of their language, is, however, eminently adoptable and adaptable. More important, that program elevates the status of native speakers not as language informants but as exceptional resources whose special qualities as native speakers and as individuals educated in a variety of fields enrich their teaching and the entire program. Kramsch's vision of crosscultural understanding applies and extends the close reading of French *explication de texte* beyond canonical literature to the very transactions of the classroom. The meaning of the everyday class is elevated, because all the statements—errors, misconceptions, cultural slips of the mind—become worthy of analysis and reflection.

There are a host of issues that this essay has intentionally omitted from discussion, not because they are not important, but because they must take a second place to a sense of what the profession is about in the first place. This writer collects anecdotes and quotations, but I have not elected to discuss the many rampant idiocies that affect the professional lives of foreign language teachers. I have not discussed a dean's question about an enterprising assistant professor who singlehandedly was bringing a department back from the brink of lethargy and non-existence, "I don't see why she doesn't do her real job and spends so much time on the language program." I have not attempted to elucidate a chair's statement, "It is inconceivable that our junior faculty teach in lower-level language courses." I have not explained the written statement in a promotion case where the chair wrote, "Mr. ____ is our language teacher. He speaks Spanish like a native." I have not bothered to deal with an assertion like "All a language teacher needs to be is enthusiastic, patient, and intelligent." I shall not examine, when I asked a university provost why it was necessary to impose an eight-year term on foreign language lecturer appointments, why he responded, "It would not be fair to the lecturers to keep them more than eight years!" I have no respectful response for the provost who, when asked why he was filling a vacant tenure-track slot with a visiting adjunct assistant professor, replied, "Why should I hire a real person when I can get a language teacher for $20,000 a year?" Nor have I entered into a discussion of the tyranny of the textbook, the all too frequent absence of educational vision in those publications, and one textbook writer's boast that his method was "teacher-proof." Such quotations are essentially professional slurs, and it is unlikely that those who make such statements have any interest in being disabused of their ignorance.

Similarly, I have not covered the issues of national origin and gender. Many language programs have teachers whose professional training has

not taken place within American institutions and whose command of English and of American educational culture is insufficient for a full and equal participation in a discussion of educational goals. There remains a certain colonial mentality from the days of the Army and Audio-Lingual Methods that marks clear lines of authority. It would be naive not to recognize that within the governance problem there is also a gender problem. While I do not have statistics on the gender of foreign language teachers, it seems more than impressionistic to assert that the majority of adjunct foreign language teachers are women. In its series of statistical studies on various aspects of the profession, the Modern Language Association has tracked the rank of tenure-track positions by gender (Huber 1990), but there does not seem to exist data on *all* foreign language teachers in higher education *per se*; lecturers and senior lecturers are invisible citizens. Whatever gains women might have been made in the Academy in tenured ranks, the ranks of the untenured and untenurable do not testify to the social evolution within the foreign language profession.

Foreign language teachers are now facing new and difficult challenges. Developments in a field like foreign language acquisition research will make new claims and demands for what can be achieved—and what cannot be achieved—in the classroom. Changing student populations and backgrounds (e.g., the increased need of classes for "false beginners") necessitate curricular revision and redefinitions of what a program seeks to achieve. With its ability to bring foreign countries into the classroom, the language laboratory, and the dormitory, multimedia technology will be a boon for or the bane of language teachers, either granting them greater flexibility and creativity or burdening them with new responsibilities for which at present they will receive little or no support and few or no rewards. Demands for accountability within and beyond the foreign language profession have reawakened concerns about student achievement. The incessant refrain of the internationalization of higher education will make still more demands on foreign language teachers or leave them out of the loop of curricular and institutional development (Patrikis 1993). Calls for renewal and reform come with a price, and someone will have to reckon with costs. Moreover, the foreign language profession is encountering new demands and new costs at exactly the moment when colleges and universities are retrenching, restructuring, cutting costs, and eliminating personnel. So many of these developments can be seen, I believe, as distractions from the problem of governance. They effectively pose the question "What more can the foreign language teacher do?" rather than the more telling question "What is the foreign language teacher doing in the first place?"

In final analysis, the foreign language problem is the place and value of teaching in our colleges and universities. The eloquent Carnegie report *Scholarship Reconsidered* (Boyer 1990) is one of many recent publications to discuss "a suffocatingly restricted view of scholarship" (p. 43) that degrades the value of teaching and that does not correspond to faculty interests (p. 44). The very mission of higher education is at stake, and Frederick Rudolph took an unusually jaundiced view when he commented on the possibility of change and reform in higher education:

> Patience is not one of the essential qualities of a reformer, and it must be from the collective frustration of curricular reformers that there has developed the 'academic truism that changing a curriculum is harder than moving a graveyard.' The reasons for curricular rigidity are many, some simply being a function of organization. Assemble a cluster of professors in a country town, surround them with scenic grandeur, cut them off from the world beyond, and they will not have much trouble congratulating themselves into curricular torpor. Let someone knock at the door with a vision of change, he will discover that access is blocked by those within the gate. Let him argue in behalf of some perceived need or desire of students, and he will soon discover his mistake: The institution is really not for the students, after all, but for the professors. (Rudolph 1981, p. 3)

As one reads the pamphlets from the various multi-million-dollar capital campaigns that now characterize college and university development efforts, every institution plays the same tune about the value of undergraduate instruction and the importance of international perspectives. This writer cannot refrain from the rhetorical question whether the needs of foreign language faculty have been identified in those campaigns. Capital campaigns call for endowed chairs, fellowships, and new programs, but they rarely, if ever, call for endowed teaching positions.

The notion of governance provides a focus for examining a variety of issues: status, contracts, work loads, compensation, benefits, accountability, formal review, long-term planning, to name but a few possible concerns. Those concerns, however, are secondary, because they are bureaucratic. The primary concern must be academic: the creation of knowledge, the preservation of knowledge, and the dissemination of knowledge. The foreign language problem is difficult because it is entrenched in the history of American education and because it exposes

the fundamental flaw of the educational agenda that systematically places research over teaching. Solutions to the foreign language problem? The solution is at the same time simple and perverse: to value teaching enough so that it is not neglected and relegated to an underclass, to hire and renew or tenure teachers who have the credentials for teaching that can be rewarded, to provide those teachers with the material resources needed for their task, to demonstrate sufficient respect for teaching and learning that foreign language courses are conceived with the care and attention lavished on graduate programs. If there are solutions to the various problems of the governance of foreign language teaching and learning, then those solutions will necessarily be local and peculiar to the needs and resources of individual institutions. Those solutions will probably have to come "top-down," because no single department or program has the authority or ability or probably even the willingness to make an institution-wide decision. Moreover, solutions will demand intellectual and moral leadership because they will run against the grain of comfortable tradition. Governance, or the foreign language problem, remains the administrative and political obstacle in redefining the borders of foreign language study.

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   (VanPatten 1993)

   Benseler and Cronjaeger (1991) provide the first comprehensive listing on the topic of TA development in foreign languages in their extensive bibliography.

   Although exhortations to the contrary are easily found (Allwright 1981), the textbook, particularly the introductory textbook . . .

2. For a reference with page numbers, use a comma to separate date and page number. Precede the page number(s) with p. or pp.

   (Byrnes 1990, p. 42)

3. For a reference with volume and page numbers use arabic number for volume, colon, and arabic number for page:

   (Weinberg 1952, 2: p. 129)

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5. Works by two or three authors, use this form:

   (Smith and Jones 1991)

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   (Mitchell et al. 1992)

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   (Kelly 1896, 1902a, 1902b)

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Order of Entries:

Always alphabetize by last name of principal author; for questions of alphabetization, see *Chicago* chapter 17.

1. If an author has both individual and coauthored works, all individual works precede coauthored ones.

   a. By date: oldest first

   b. If more than one work in the same year, order by alpha and add a lowercase a, b, c, etc.: 1993a, 1993b

2. Coauthored works:

   a. cluster together groups containing the same coauthors. Groups of 2 precede groups of 3, which precede groups of 4, etc.

   b. within each group, organize by date (oldest first)

   c. if more than one work with same date, organize by alpha using a, b, c.

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Clément, Richard, Zoltán Dörnyei, and Kimberly A. Noels. Submitted for publication. Motivation, Self-Confidence, and Group Cohesion in the Foreign Language Classroom.

Three-em Dashes (———) for Repeated Names:

Do not use when a coauthor is first added. If the same author is used again, add 3-em.

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Special Notes

1. Personal names beginning with "Mc" or any abbreviated forms of "Mac" should be indexed under "Mac" as though the full form were used.

2. For all state abbreviations, consult Chicago 14.17.

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4. There are no quotation marks around article titles. Use quotes only when there is a title within a title. Books are in italics.

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Journal Article: One Author (16.104)

Note that identification of the issue is used *only* when each issue is paginated separately (in contrast to the common practice of consecutive pagination throughout a volume).

Lange, Dale. 1986. The MLA Commission of Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics: Comments and Advice. *ADFL Bulletin* 17: 28–31.

Journal Article: Two or More Authors (16.104)

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